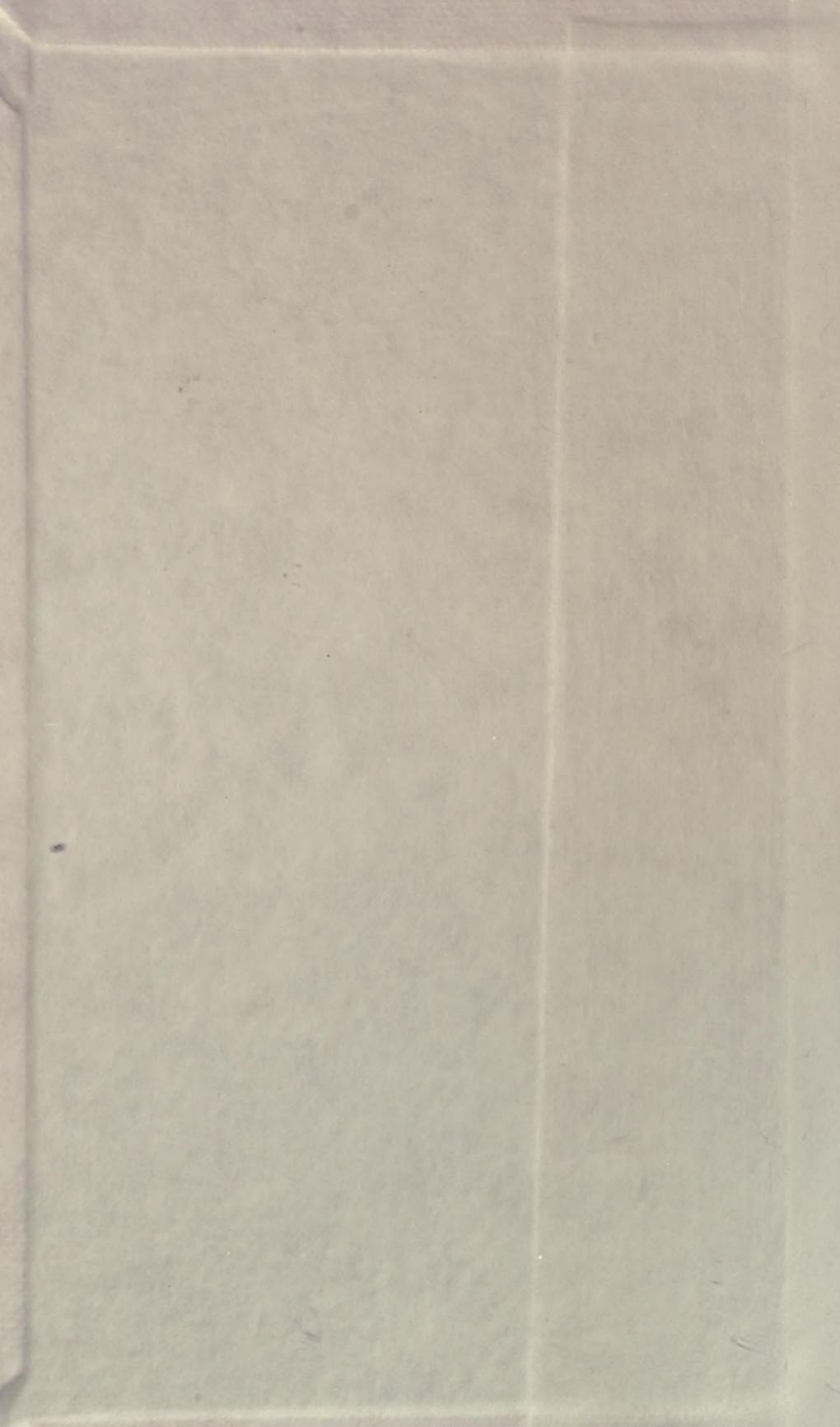


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MARY SIDNEY
COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE



MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.
FROM THE PICTURE AT PENSHURST.
BY THE KIND PERMISSION OF LORD DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY.

MARY SIDNEY
COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

BY

FRANCES BERKELEY YOUNG



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(*From the picture at Penshurst*)

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OF PEMBROKE TO LORD BURGHLEY
(*From the original in the Public Record Office*)

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(*From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery*)

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MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

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(*From the engraving by Simon Pass*)

MARY SIDNEY COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND GIRLHOOD (1561-1577)

THE life of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and her literary relations with her time, form a study interesting in proportion to its difficulty. As the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, and the sister of Sir Philip Sidney, she was in close touch with the chief statesmen as well as with the chief writers of the late sixteenth century. As an author on her own account—a fair poet and an excellent translator—she also challenges our attention. More than all, however, she is significant because of her attitude toward letters and scholarship. Admirably cultivated herself, she set a high value, apparently, on culture, and especially on creative power, in others. Finally, she possessed the rank and wealth essential in her age to the successful patron of literature.

There is great difficulty, however, in arriving at a true estimate of Lady Pembroke. Many of our conclusions must necessarily be based on guesswork, for the records of her own personal history are but scanty; and her biographers are forced back upon the general records of the Sidney and Pembroke families in order to piece out a complete narrative. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that not all of her writing has come down to us. More than all, in studying the contemporary estimates of Lady Pembroke, we must be careful to separate spontaneous and disinterested appreciation from servile and interested flattery. This done, however, we may still feel that Lady Pembroke was a charming, clever, and good woman, who played a noble part nobly, and who represented the best type of feminine culture and character in the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

The Sidney family was of French extraction,¹ and the name Sidney is thought to be derived from St. Sydonius, the patron saint of a monastery in Normandy. One *William de Sidne, Militi*, is recorded to have received from Henry II (1154–

¹ The material for this chapter is drawn primarily, of course, from Arthur Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State*, London, 1746. Whenever possible, however, I have followed Collins' older authorities. The *State Papers, Domestic*, *Edward VI*, *Elizabeth*, and *James I*, are of course indispensable. I have also made occasional use of *A Historical Guide to Penshurst Place*, by the Hon. Mary Sidney, Tunbridge Wells, 1903.

1189) the grant of a manor in Surrey,¹ and this knight is considered by the genealogists to have been the first ancestor of the family in England. All through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Sidneys seem to have been an important and prosperous family, though not yet politically distinguished.² The Nicholas Sidney who was head of his house in the late fifteenth century, married Anne Brandon, aunt to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Their son, William Sidney, was one of the Esquires of the Household to Henry VIII,³ and was knighted for his bravery at Flodden Field.⁴

This Sir William Sidney was Tutor and Chamberlain, and Steward of King Henry VIII's household from the birth of Prince Edward to his coronation as Edward VI. To the latter prince the knight made himself even more serviceable; and was rewarded by Edward in 1552 with a gift of the manor of Penshurst in Kent.⁵ Less than a year later, however, the new owner of Penshurst died, leaving his estates to his only son Henry, a young man destined to become one of the ablest courtiers, statesmen, and administrators of the reign of Elizabeth.

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 76, *Memoir*. Quoted from original document at Penshurst.

² Holinshed: *Chronicles* (ed. of 1808), vol. 4, pp. 869-79; vol. 6, pp. 400 ff.

³ Collins, vol. 1, pp. 76 ff. *Memoir*.

⁴ Pat. 5 Henry VIII., pt. 2. Cited by Collins, vol. 1, p. 77, *Memoir*.

⁵ Collins, vol. 1, p. 78, *Memoir*.

Henry Sidney, the father of Philip Sidney, and of Mary Sidney, the subject of this sketch, was born on July 20, 1529.¹ The 'Sidney Psalter,'² preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, gives the following entry :

The natiuitie of Henrie Sidney was on twesday, the twentie day of Iuly upon Saincte Margeretts day, in the morninge, a quarter after one of the clocke, the twentie one yeare of Henrie the eighte, and in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, fyuehundred, twentie and nyne, his Godfather was king Henrie the eighte. his other godfather, was S^r William Fitz-william : after Earle of Southehampton, and Lord priuie-seale, his godmother was the Ladie Kingston, wife to Sir william Kingston, knighte of the most noble order, and comtroller of King Henrie the eighte his household.³ [Hand A.]

From his earliest childhood he resided at the court, where he was the intimate companion of the young Prince Edward. Many years later, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1583,⁴ Sir Henry thus described his own rearing :

I was, by that most famous King (Henry VIII) put to his sweet son, Prince Edward, my most dear master, prince and sovereign ; my near kinswoman being his only nurse ; my father being his chamberlain ; my

¹ Holinshed (ed. cit. vol. 4, pp. 869, 879; vol. 6, pp. 400 ff.) gives the date as March 21, 1529. The entries of births and deaths in Sir Henry Sidney's *Psalter* would seem to be more authoritative, however.

² R. 17, 2, 254. (No. 988 in Mr. M. R. James' catalogue.)

³ E margine calendarii veteris Psalterii MS. Coll. Trin. Cant.

⁴ *State Papers Dom., Eliz.* Ludlow Castle, March 1, 1583. (See also p. 45 of this MS.)

mother his governess ; my aunt in such place as, among meaner personages, is called a dry nurse. As the prince grew in years and discretion, so grew I in favour and liking of him.

To Henry Sidney the young Prince Edward was devotedly attached. His character and personality at this time are thus described by Holinshed :¹

This yoong gentleman, his father being deceased, . . . was brought up in the court under the same maister as was king Edward the sixt, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French toongs, for he had a verie good wit and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceived some good things would come of him : his countenance was verie aimiable, and his behaviour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaiefellow with prince Edward.

This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the paragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed upon him everie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well beseeene ; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and of so good behaviour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so godlie, so discreet and so sober, as he was another Scipio : being but yoong in years and old in behaviour, and finallie so rare a man as that age had not affoorded manie better.²

¹ Holinshed (ed. of 1808), vol. 6, p. 400.

² See also *Chronicles*, vol. 4, p. 870.

Upon Edward's accession in 1547 young Henry Sidney was made one of the four principal Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and on October 11, 1551, he was knighted.¹ He had already manifested an unusual talent for affairs of state, and about this time was sent on important diplomatic missions both to France and to Scotland.²

On March 29, 1551, Henry Sidney was married to the Lady Mary Dudley, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Warwick, and Baron Lisle. Of this wedding the 'Sidney Psalter' gives the following notice :

The mariage of S^r Henrie Sydnee knighte with the Ladie Marie Dudlie daughter to Iohn, than erle of Warricke, and after duke of Northumb. was first at Asser the nyne-and-twentie day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, Fyue hundred, Fyftie, and one: and afterward most publikelie and honorablie solemnised in Elye-place, in Holborne in the Whitson-holy-daisies nexte following. [Hand A.]

This alliance with the Dudleys was a very honourable one, even for a family already so distinguished as were the Sidneys at this time. Many years after, in 1584,³ Philip Sidney wrote :

I am a *Dudlei* in blood, that Dukes Daughters Son, and do acknowledg, though, in all Truth, I mai justli

¹ *State Papers Dom.*, Ed. VI., Oct. 11, 1551. (Doyle's *Baronage* says Oct. 10.)

² *State Papers Dom.*, *Mary*, May 1555.

³ *A Discourse in Defence of the Earle of Leycester*. Printed in full in Collins, vol. I, p. 64, *Memoir*.

affirm, that I am, by my Fathers Syde, of ancient, and allwaies well esteemed and wel-matched Gentry, yet I do acknowledg, I sai, that my cheefest honor is to be a *Dudlei*.

The prestige of the establishment at Penshurst was also increased by this marriage.

The King gave Sir Henry license to retain, over and above his menial servants, fifty persons, gentlemen and yeomen, and to give them his livery badge or cognizance. This was the Bear and Ragged Staff, the badge of the Earls of Warwick, which Sir Henry adopted in right of his wife ; and which, with the Sidney crest, the Porcupine, is so conspicuous on all parts of the House at Penshurst.¹

Sir Henry Sidney's intimate relationship with Edward VI ended only when the young king died in the arms of his faithful companion and playmate at Greenwich, July 7, 1553.² The history of Sir Henry's ensuing connection or lack of connection with the Duke of Northumberland's plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne is very obscure. The evidence seems to indicate that he must have been more or less swayed by his father-in-law.³ On June 21, 1553, Northumberland persuaded Edward to sign letters-patent transferring the inheritance to Lady Jane Grey, now the wife of Lord Guilford Dudley. Sir Henry

¹ *Hist. Guide, ut cit. supra*, p. 14.

² *State Papers Dom., Eliz.* Letter of Sir H. Sidney, March 1, 1583.

³ See a significant letter from the duke to his son-in-law, July 25, 1552. *State Papers Domestic, Addenda, Ed. VI.*

Sidney's name is one of the many signed to this document.¹ On the other hand, after Mary had finally been proclaimed queen on July 20, he, with six others, took the initiative in seeking her pardon on the very next day.²

Whatever may have been the blame or merit attaching to his conduct, Sir Henry passed safely through the crisis which was fatal to so many members of his wife's family; he continued in the service of Queen Mary, and was gradually restored to his former offices and responsibilities.

In the first year of Elizabeth he was made Justice and Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland, and in the following year Lord President of the Marches of Wales. In May 1564 he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and in October 1565 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland, an office to which he was twice reappointed.³

All historians unite in praising his conduct of affairs in Ireland. He evinced not only great administrative ability and power of directing and judging men, but he instituted many practical reforms in government. The record of his career there may be traced in his official correspondence with the Queen and the Lords of the Council.⁴

¹ *Chronicles of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Society, p. 10.

² *Ibid.* p. 13.

³ Collins, vol. I, p. 85, *Memoir*.

⁴ Collins, vol. I. *State Papers Dom.*, *Eliz.*, circa 1560-1586. Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. cit.), vol. 4, pp. 871-79.

To Sir Henry Sidney and Lady Mary his wife were born seven children, three sons and four daughters. Of these children the renowned Philip Sidney was the first-born, and Mary, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, was apparently the fifth. The complete record seems to be as follows:¹ Philip, born at Penshurst, November 30, 1554; Margaret, born 1556, died 1558; Elizabeth, born , died 1567; Ambrosia (named after her uncle, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick), born at Hampton Court, 1560,² died February 2, 1575;³ Mary, born at Tickenhill Palace near Bewdley, Worcestershire, October 27, 1561;⁴ Robert, afterwards the first Sidney to be Earl of Leicester, born at Penshurst, November 19, 1563; and Thomas, born at Hogsdon, near London, March 25, 1569, died 1595. As is here shown, three out of the four girls died in infancy or early girlhood, and the third son scarcely arrived at full maturity. Of the three surviving children, however—Philip, Mary, and Robert—each one fulfilled a useful and distinguished life.

¹ Collins, vol. 1, pp. 96–7, *Memoir*. Collins' list is not entirely complete. I have supplemented it, as far as possible, from the *State Papers*, and from Sir Henry Sidney's *Psalter*.

² *State Papers Foreign, Eliz.*; Henry Killigrew to Throckmorton, October 10, 1560.

³ *State Papers Dom., Eliz.*, February 1575.

⁴ The date of Lady Pembroke's birth was apparently unknown to Collins; and as late as 1897 Miss Alice Luce was unable to find any record of it. A reference to the *Sidney Psalter*, however, was published by Fox Bourne at least as early as 1891.

In order to follow the probable course of Mary Sidney's girlhood, we must review the known circumstances of her family between the years 1560 and 1580. Sir Henry Sidney's public duties in Wales and in Ireland must have effectually prevented his being often at Penshurst, and the life of the whole family was interrupted by much moving about. They seem to have made their chief residences at Penshurst, and at Ludlow Castle in Wales. But as we have seen, Mary Sidney was born at Tickenhill (Ticknell) Palace, near Bewdley,¹ and the family must have lived there at various times. Lady Sidney with her children also spent much time at Dublin Castle in Ireland. The second (?) little daughter, Elizabeth, died at Kilmainham in Ireland, and was buried in the Cathedral at Dublin.²

It is most interesting and often touching to trace the history of the family through those letters, public and private, which are still extant from Sir Henry Sidney and his wife to various persons. The Queen's favour was far from steadfast, and even a family of such unquestioned loyalty as the Sidneys were by no means safe

¹ The entry in the *Sidney Psalter* reads thus: 'The nativitie of Marie Sydney, afterward Countesse of Penbrooke was at Ticknell by Beudlie, in the marches of Walles, the seauen=and twentie day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fyue=hundred, three=score and one. Her godfather was the righte honorable William erle of Penbrooke, her godmothers, the ladie baronesse Shandoes, and the ladie Iobson.' [Hand A.]

² *Hist. Guide*, p. 16.

from envious tongues at court. It is well known, also, that Sir Henry Sidney had to struggle with keen poverty in his private purse as well as with most niggardly allowances from the Queen for his public expenses. The straits to which the family were often put are vividly shown in their correspondence. From Dublin Castle, February 24, 1569,¹ Sir Henry writes to 'Mr. Secretary Cecill':

I dare affyrme, there is no servaunt in Christendom that indureth greater toile of mynde and bodie then I doe, nor that with so litell assistaunce weldith so weightie matters and meteth with so many and variable accidents, . . . herewith I have soche a familier of penury as I thinke never none endured as a prince deputie. What shoulde I in particular dilate it when I am forced to borrowe, yea almost to begge for my dynner? Howe then dothe my servaunts, howe then my soldiors, but most of all howe dothe the poore countrey which hath borne all without receyvinge anythinge, theis tenne yeres past?

Our knowledge of the affairs of the family at this time is much illuminated also by the well-known letter from Lady Sidney to Lord Burghley, May 2, 1572.² The Queen had proposed, as a reward for Sir Henry Sidney's services in Ireland, to elevate him to the peerage; but the offer was not accompanied by any pension or grant of land to aid in bearing the increased expense of a higher

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 43.

² *State Papers Dom., Eliz.*, 1572.

title. This remonstrance of Lady Sidney's, with its quaint spelling¹ and many erasures, is still preserved at the Public Record Office.

My uery good Lord, as I may be asbasht this often to truble you with my bold wryghtinge geven [,] so [,] most honorable [,] the greatnes off my present occasion douth infors me now umbly to crave your noble assistans ; conserninge her Ma^{tis} pleasure for my L. my husbande. Who truly my Lord I do fynd greatly dismayde with his hard choyse [which] is presently offered him, As eather to be a barron no^w cawled in the nomber off many, farr more able then himself to mayntaine it with all, eather els in refusinge hit to incoor her highnes displeasure ; In which hard distres as we may well term hit ; con-syderinge our ill abylyty on the on syde to maintaine a hier tytle then now we posses. and on the uther syde the great praise [?] appears in her ma^{ties} uther [*farther crossed out*] care off us, then utter ruwin sins tyetysl [titles] off greater cawlinge canot be well welded but with some amendment [,] at the princis hand [,] off a rewinated staet, or els to his discredit greatly that must take them upon him. thear as most umbly to besyche your good noble L^{pe}. even as umbly and ernestly as a powr perplexed woman (to see her husband this hardly dealt with all, as in this cace I knoe your L^{pe} is bouth by him sealf and uther [*verso*] [of] his frends made priuy unto [,] and thearfore I will omyt for further trublinge your L-pe to make enny new relation thear off. but [if] onely your L-pe. with my forsyd umble request will stand so mouch his good lord, and sins no better grace wilbe opteyned to inable us better to higher

¹ Lady Sidney's spelling, which seems to be largely phonetic, throws an interesting light upon the pronunciation of certain words in her time.

tytelle. yeat [get?] that the motion be no forther ofered unto him. for sertis right noble and justly renoomed most vertuse lord. yff it were knone unto you the stryfe and warr between his Loyall and dutyfull mynde to obey her ma^{tis} pleasure in ech matter her highnes cann fancy to ley upon him. and his owne Judgment and Wants utherwyse to hold the creadit and coontenans the same shall requyre. I kno your honorable mynd in this speasialy must neads louke bake unto his unfortunate staet. Whearin sins we hear creadiably your L-pe cannot do us that good whych most nobly you seake to do us. and that I hope your L-pe. douth consevye is not altogeather undiservued off M Sydney, to leue further to truble your L-pe. with my rude complaint and scryblinge, I this ons againe umbly conclude, [that] hit may pleays you off your great goodnes. only to stey the mosion off this newe tytelle. to be enny forther offered him. and surly [surely] we shall thinke our sealves most bound unto you. and so [,] as for many other great occasions at your L-ps. hands opteyned only ; we shall rest ever unfaynedly[.] I pray for your L-pe. ever [*hapynesse* crossed out] increas and contynewans in all honor [*and* crossed out] [.] Longe and healthfull lyfe to gods pleasure and your owen noble contentatyon from my chamber in coourght this 2 of may.

Your L-pe. most bounden and
assured to my womanish litle powr M. SYDNEY.

[Addressed :]

To the right honorable
and my especiall good
Lord the lord off burley
on off the lords off the
most honorable pruy
coonsel. and knight off
the Noble order.

[Endorsed :] 2 May, 1572

The La. Sidney to my L.
to stay the calling of
hir Husband to be
Baron.

The disquietude evinced by this letter is very touching, and shows clearly the difficulties with which the family constantly contended. Lady Sidney's request seems at any rate to have been so far answered that her husband was never made a peer.

The letters next following, from Lady Sidney, are preserved among the British Museum manuscripts. I quote them in full because of the light they throw not only on that lady's character and personality, but on the customs of court life as well. The details are singularly vivid and significant : the sordidness of life at court is well shown, with all its petty demands and rivalries. We see also the straits to which a noble family might be put ; and the trials of a court official such as the Lord Chamberlain.

The reader should remember that Lady Sidney's spelling is usually phonetic. Her punctuation is not puzzling if one remembers to read her periods nearly always as commas, and her commas frequently as periods. That curious sign, which seems to combine a colon and a comma, thus—;—may be read somewhat as a semi-colon. In a few desperate instances I have ventured to insert a modern punctuation mark in brackets.

The first letter following is addressed by Lady Sidney to John Cockram, or Cokram, who seems to have been a steward or confidential servant to

the family. It was written in August (no day),
1573.¹

Jhon Cokram. Hear I send yow my lords warrent
for 20^{li} w^{ch} I pray yow as ever yow will do enny thinge
for me to send me hit forthwith. eather els half of hit.
thoghe I feare my lords will was not that I should haue
hit so soon yet offors² [perforce] I must neads presently
imploy hit. I have payd all redy xx^{li} to my fision
who must haue x^{li} more to prouyde things for me,
against this day seuen nyght. when I am to enter into
hit and will not otherwyse take my hand. as you haue
hard his maner is. I have payd 12^{li} sins my lord went
for a hat[,] glous [gloves] and 2 ventalls that the Quen
had off me at her ma^{ti} journye hens. So as a bowt my
English prouysions, necessary things for my sealf. I
ham all redy. very near moneles. and canot indead
styr from hens before you send me money. Thearfore
I pray fayle not. As ever I shall trust yow. or as yow
tender my good will and fauor to send me heather at the
least x^{li} this nyght. for I am requyred by the keaper
to go from hens with all spead. because of my peapel
that have bin syke. So fare you well, from her ma^{ti}
manor of grinwych this Teusday after Saint Bartellmews
daye. 1573.

Your louinge mistris
M. SYDNEY.

I haue written you this lardge discoors that you
may yff need so requyre send hit to my lord, to satisfye
him why I send to yow his warrant so soone. but yf
yow list to use me other wyse, hit shall not be the worss
for yow. X^{li} more hath the hertninge of my fyrst

¹ Brit. Mus. MS. 15914, fol. 12.

² See Murray's *New English Dictionary*, under *force*.

sute cost me, sins my lord went for which I am promysed 300^{li} at all auentures to the partie that hath boght hit who thinkes he shall haue a good bargaine ons within this quarter of this year. but I list not to auenture the taryinge so doubtfull a matter. and so hertyinge me presently with my money. you shalbe trubled no more with me. this yeare. but under x^{li} at this present will not serue my turn. and ons againe as yow esteam of my good will and quyet doe yow deale this onestly with me as to send hit this nyght, thoghe you strayne your ottermost credit.

[Addressed :]

To my louinge

seruaunt Jhon Cokram. Fenchurch.
Send one of your one [own] men with
this bearer—but see you fayle
me not thoghe hit be laet. for
theair is no remedy but I must
be gon to moue from hens.

On February 1, 1574,¹ Lady Sidney writes as follows to the Earl of Sussex, who was at this time Lord Chamberlain :

I umbly besieche you. my espesiall good Lord. to be so good unto me as to comande Undrill Keaper of her Ma^{tis} standinge wardrobe to lend me 3 or 4 lyned peacis of hangings. for that it may pleas you understande her Ma^{ty}. hath comanded me to come to the courght, and my chamber is very cold and my owne hangings very scant and nothyng warme. my sealf rather a lytle recouired off great extreamyty of syknes then that I can eather bost of hope of perfitt health, or dare auenture to lye in so cold a lodginge without some

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cotton, Vesp. F. xii., f. 179.*

forther healpe. I assure yr L-pe. the shalbe safely deliuered a gayne. And I shall think my sealf most bownd unto yow yf yor pleasure be to shew me this fauor, and this with my umble comendations to your L-pe and my very good Lady and sister. I rest at your comandments and to wish unto you bouthe mouche increas off honor and longe continewance thear off. from my howse at seynt antonis.¹ this fyrst of February.

Your Lordship's sister and unfayned yowr frend.

M. SYDNEY.

I dyd hear my Lord. thear was a generall account taken off her ma^{tis} wardrobe stoof sins yr Lps beinge Lord chamberleyn whear in thear was serteyn things demanded off me, that wer deliuered owt of her Ma^{tis} wardrobe. Indeed my Lord most true it is. her ma^{:ty} when I was in chyld bed of my last chyld, dyd comand all souch thyngs as I wanted should for that tyme be delyuered me. for that I had no stoofe of my owen nearer then waels or yrland. w^{ch} sarteynly was be me carefully when I was after wards sent for to the courght, deliuered to a man of myne of myne [sic.] to be forthwith deliuered againe to her ma^{tis} offisirs, whear fyndynge contrary wyse his lewd dealinge and . . . [The rest of this postscript—about one more whole line—is illegible. It is written in a very fine hand on a corner of the MS., which is slightly torn. Lady Sidney is evidently

¹ This place is probably the one described as follows in *Bodl. MS. Ashmole, 1529*. ‘A large original document, . . . an Indenture dated 26 May, 5 Eliz. (1563), whereby the Dean and Canons of Windsor, “proprietaries of the House and Hospitall of saint Anthonyes in London” demised unto Sir Henry Sydney, the “tenement callid Lady Tate’s house” on the site thereof and then in his occupation (where his father Sir Henry [sic. William?] had dwelled) for the farther term of 60 years, at the yearly rent of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Signed “by me H. Sydney.”’

explaining that, in view of her servant's unreliability, restitution will be made 'at my lords comyng.]'

[Addressed :]	[Endorsed, different hand :]
To the right honorable and	The Ladie Sidney
my espesiall good lord and	no
brother the Erll of Susex	1 Febr. 1573
Lord chamberleyne to her	[1574, <i>new style.</i>]
ma ^{ty} .	Court
	Book of Hande.

The next letter, which is undated, but which may be placed in this period, is perhaps, in spite of its querulous tone, the most characteristic of all. It is likewise addressed to the Earl of Sussex,¹ in his official capacity.

It may please yor L-pe. to understande, sondry of my frends haue sent me wourd her ma^{tie} is offended with my absens from the Court. w^{ch} I am inforsed unto by means of my wonted lodginge w^{ch} her hyghnes this 5 years hathe comanded me to haue is now taken from me. I kno not by what means. but I am by euery on I send unto abowt it, directed to yr L-pe for redres. The chamber the gentleman usher saythe yr Lpe. hathe apointed me, truly my Lrd. was never yet but the playce for my seruants. neather is it fitt, for the coldnes and wydnes of it fr on off my weaknes and sykelynnes. hauinge bysyds no way owt of it for me, but thoro the open cloyster. eather to her ma^{ty} or otherwyse. w^{ch} it hath alwayse this many years pleased her hyghnes to haue made fauorable respect of. and for that occasion and my health. dyd her sealf, wyll my brother the erll of ley-sister 5 years past to lett me haue his good wyll [?] to haue those 2 chambers ; whear of on now is taken from me, and

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cotton. Tit. B. ii. f. 302.*

neuer before sins that tyme and the best of bouth and the most conuenient as well for my repayre to her Ma^{ty}., as for the way into the gardein. the last year bouth those lodginges I mean only those 2 chambers, wer apointed to me at her Ma^{tis} fyrst comminge thether, and being so extreamly syke as I could not com then. I was requested to lend the on to my Lady Chandose and the other that is now taken frome me, to my lord of esex, but as sone as I cam hyther beinge then also de-nayed it at the gentleman ushers hands, I sent m^r deprez [?] with request to yr L-pe. for it, and it pleased yow to lett me haue it in respect I had had it so longe and so offen before. I besyche yow my lord. I may not be more uncourtesly dealt wth all nowe. for I do not seeke to encroche upon more or forther comodity by my lodginge then extreamyty douth compell unto. and whear I understand yr L-pe. hath made answer some tymes that it is in respect that her Ma^{ty} would lye ouer those 2 chambers. tho it be very unlykely to me to thinke : knowinge so well how unfitt the playce is for her Ma^{ty}. to make her restinge lodginge in. yet all beinge to her hyghnes best lykinge, it may be so. and beinge so ; many is the tyme. I haue layne without offens to her Ma^{ty}. no nearer then underneathe. in her ma^{tis} lodg- ings. as many more as yor Lpe. knothe doe the lyke. others tell me yr. Lpe. saythe I neuer had it and yf I had. it was at my brothers pleasure. w^{ch} indeed I was woont to have. pleasinge him at all tymes when I canne to remoue his dryuinge from thens for me : but who so euer hath put into yr L-pe. hed. I neuer had the chamber with the way into the gardein, anext with the other for my servants. hath told yr L-pe. a very great untruthe, as bouth my brother and all the ladys can satisfye yor L-pe. therein. for that is the way this 5 years I haue euer gon upp to her Ma^{ty} thorow the gardein. my brother is most wyllinge styl I should haue it.

and doth direct me to yr L-pe. knowinge very well. that the chamber (whear sins I could not haue the next chamber most nesesary for me to ly in) by yr L-pes. comandement.; that that I lent my lady talbot after I was denayed the other ; is not a playce for me to lye in. beinge but on great rewinus chamber. So cold and so unansom for me that am in thys yll state.; as I dare say her Ma^{ty} would not wyshe me to be in it. neather yet in my lyf dyd I euer lye in it. neather euer wyll I with my good wyll. I haue lately with an yll lodginde taken heuie paine more then I am lykely to be ryd well of this year. but now to seas this longe trubling yr L-pe. I craue but yr direct answer. for yf the courtesy be more then yr L-pe. cann thinke me wourthy off at yr hands. it shall soufyse for my excuse to her Ma^{ty}. upon her Ma^{ty} next comandinge me to the Court. whear but for my dewty and great desyer sake to be near her Ma^{ty}. as I am of all creatures most bound. it is a playce I assuer yr L-pe is no more unfyt for me in yr Judgment then I am unwyllinge to come into. tho at this present. it crosis some great cawse of myne that tuchis me near. my absens from thens,: but that is least part of yr L-pe. care I am sure. neather cann it be otherwyse. desteny between yr L-pe. and me wyll haue it so how farr from just cawse so euer it bee. as god best knose. who increase your honor and prosperity. from duram howse whear I stay but your L-ps. courtesy or otherwise at yr pleasure for my chamber.

Yr L-ps assured sister or unfained well wyssher— as best lykes yow to except me.

M. SYDNEY.

My lady talbot good noble lady is redy to resyne her on [own] chamber for my seruants ; so I might haue the other for my sealf. otherwyse her L-pe disyered it not, but tyll my owen cominge an unfyt playce for the good

lady. but for want of a better. w^{ch} I would your L-pe dyd shew her more Courtesy in. for her owne welfare. and honor of her howse.

[Address :] [Endorsed, in another hand :]

¹ To the right honorable The Ladie Sydney.
 . . . the susex—lord
 . . . chamberlein and of the
 . . . pruyu . . . council ?
 . . . and knyghte of the
 . . . garder.

The question of suitable lodgings for those nobles who happened to be at Court seems to have been an especially vexed one. The following letters have already been printed by Collins, but I give them here because of their special flavour.

Lady Mary Sydney to Edmund Molineux, Esq.²

MOLENOX. I thought good to put you in remembrance to moue my Lord Chamberlein, in my Lords name, to haue some uther Roome then my Chamber, for my lord to haue his resort unto, as he was woont to haue ; or ells my lord wilbe greatly trubled, when he shall haue enny maters of dispache : my lodginge, you see, beinge very lytle, and my sealfe continuewaly syke, and not able to be mouche out of my bed. For the night tyme on roofe with gods grace shall serue us ; for the day tyme the quen will louke to haue my chamber always in a redines, for her Ma^{ty} cominge thether ; and thoghe my lord himsealfe cann be no impediment thearto by his owen presens, yet his lordshipe trustinge to no playce ells to be prouyded

¹ MS. partly illegible.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 271. (Collins has modernised the punctuation throughout all his reprints of the Sidney letters.)

for him, wilbe as I sayd before trubled for want of a conuenient playce, for the dispache of souche people as shall haue occasion to come to him. Therefore I pray you, in my lords owen name, moue my lord of susex for a room for that porpose, and I will haue hit hanged and lyned for him, with stoof from hens. I wish you not to be unmyndfull hear of ; and so for this tyme I leue you to the Almighty. From chiswike this xi of October, 1578.

Your very assured louing
Mistris and Frend
M. SYDNEY.

Lady Mary Sydney to Edmund Molineux, Esq.¹

You have used the matter very well ; but we must do more yet for the good dear Lord then let him be thus dealt with all. Hampton Courght I neuer yet knue so full as ther wer not spare Rooms in hit, whan hit hath ben thryse better fylled then at this Presenn hit is. But some would be sory, perhaps, my lord should haue so suer footinge in the Courght. Well, all may be as well when the good god will. The whylst, I pray let us do what we may for our lords eas and quyet. Whear unto I think, yf you go to my lord howard, and in my lords name also moue his L-pe, to shew his brother, my lord, as they cawle eache other, to shew him a cast of his Offis, and that hit shall not be knone, and aleadge your former cawsis, I think he will fynd out some place to serve that purpose ; and also, yf you go to mr. bowyer, the gentleman usher, and tell him, his Mouther requyreth him, which is my sealf, to healpe my lord with some on [one] room, but only for the dispache of the multitude of Irish and Welsh people that follow him ; and that you will

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 272.

giue your wourd in my lords behalfe and myne, hit shall not be accounted as a lodginge, nor knone of. I beleue he will make what shyft he cann; you must assure him hit is but for the day tyme for his besines, as indead hit is for my brothers answer of my stay hear for five or six dayes; he knowes I haue ventured farr allredy, with so long absens, and am ill thought on for hit, so as that may not be. But when the woorst is knowne, old lord hary and his old moll will do as well as the cann in partinge lyck good frends the small porsion alotted our longe servis in Cought; which, as lytle as hit is, seams somethynge to mooche. And this beinge all I cann say to the matter. Farewell, Mr. Ned. In hast this mondaye,
1578.

Your assured louinge mistris and frend
M. SYDNEY.

If all this will not serue, proue mr. huggins, for I know my lord would not for no good be destitude in this time for some conuenient playce for his folowers and frends to resort to him, w^{ch} in this case I am in, is not posyble to be in my chamber, tell after sun set; when the dear good lord shalbe as best becoms him, lord of his owen.

No records remain, nor even any traditions, to describe the childhood or early education of Mary Sidney, the little girl born on October 27, 1561, at the palace near Bewdley in Worcestershire. Much of her fame still rests upon her having been her brother's sister, and his friend. Their friendship, however,—to which 'Arcadia' is the lasting monument,—must have grown up in their later youth, for little Mary was but three years old

when her brother Philip, then ten, was placed in Shrewsbury School, November 1564.¹ Sir Henry Sidney and his family were at this time residing at Ludlow Castle, not far away. Philip remained at Shrewsbury almost four years, or until about Midsummer 1568. His father then sent him to Christ Church College, Oxford, where he stayed for three years more. We may please ourselves with the supposition that Sir Henry Sidney accompanied his young son to Oxford, for we learn, from the University register, that Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was created M.A. at Christ Church, 2 Aug. 1568.²

The few letters extant, for this period, from Sir Henry Sidney to his children, or about his children, show the strong and tender mutual affection which distinguished the whole family. Most notable of these is his letter to Philip at Shrewsbury School, in 1566, which is too well known to need reproduction here.³ Among the MSS. at Hatfield House is preserved the following note from Sir Henry Sidney, at Dublin Castle, to Lady Cecil, October 26, 1569.⁴

Madame I cannot blame you if you condem me for not wryting to you of so long tyme consydering the great forwardness and agreement of nere alyans betweene

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 98, *Memoir*.

² *Registrum Universitatis Oxon.* (Boase), vol. 1 (1884), p. 272.

³ Given in full in Collins, vol. 1, p. 8. (Another delightful one to Robert Sidney is given on p. 271 of vol. 1.)

⁴ *Salisbury MSS.* no. 1393.

us, for surely I condem myself & not without cause, you may in many respectes, and I by open confession wyll and do of neclygens but madame I wyll make amendys, & now do from the bottum of my hart congratulate of the agrement for the match betweene our chyldern whome almighty god bless & graunt us comfort in the sight of thear chyldern, I pray you make mutch of my dear doghter whom god bles, & I besech your ladyship syns Phyllyp is not with yow to be myne attorney to delyuer her my louying & fathers kys, good madame have regaurd to the boy that he study not to mutch for I fear he wylbe to mutch gyuen to hys booke, & yet I haue hard of few wyse fathers dout that in thear chyldern. I haue no more but I send you thys bringar Johan Tassel whom I haue harde you wear desyrous of to teach my doghter the french toun. he can do yt well & doutles is very honest he hathe sarued me a long tyme, ons again good madame bles you comend me to my doghter & so almighty god bles you & all yourys with a long & happy lyfe from the castell in dublin thys 26 of october, 1569.

Your ladyeshypes assured brother to comand
H. SYDNEY.

To my very good lady & sister,
the lady Cicell, one of her Ma^{tys}
priuy chamber.

The ' dear doghter ' so sweetly mentioned here was the little Anne Cecil, daughter of Sir William Cecil.¹ Between this young girl and Philip Sidney a marriage had been planned ; but this match was later given up, and Anne Cecil eventually married Edward De Vere, Earl of Oxford. The

¹ Fox Bourne : *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 44 ff. Quoted and summarized from *Hatfield MSS.* (*Salisbury MSS.*) nos. 1289, 1316, 1393, *et al.*

letter may give us a suggestion, as well, of the mode of Mary Sidney's education. It is certain that she was proficient in both French and Italian, and we may assume that she was also a good Latin scholar. A type of instruction which was given to Queen Elizabeth, and to Lady Jane Grey, would almost certainly have been adopted by a family so literary in their tastes and interests as were the Sidneys.

By October 1569, when Mary Sidney was eight years old, her father had returned to Ireland. His family, all except Philip, joined him there in 1570, returning in 1571. In March 1571 Sir Henry Sidney came back to England on leave of absence. He resumed his duties as Lord President of Wales, and lived during the next four years (1571-75) at Ludlow Castle, at Penshurst, and at Court.¹

In 1572 Philip Sidney was sent on the customary gentleman's tour abroad. On May 25, 1572, Queen Elizabeth granted her license to her ' trusty and well beloved Philip Sidney, Esq. to go out of England, into parts beyond the seas, with three servants and four horses, etc., to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the Realm, for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages.'²

¹ Collins, vol. I, *passim*.

² Quoted by Collins, vol. I, p. 98 (*Memoir*), from original at Penshurst.

The first indisputable mention of Mary Sidney occurs in the following well-known letter from the Queen to Sir Henry Sidney, February 1575.¹ The letter is one of condolence upon the death of his daughter Ambrosia, which had occurred shortly before.

*To S^r Henry Sidney, from her Mat^{ie} upon y^e death of
one of his daughters.²*

Good Sidney Right trusty & welbeloued. Although we are well assured that by yo^r wisdom and great experience of worldly chaunces and necessities, nothing can happen unto you so heauy, but yo^u can & will beare them as they ought to be rightly taken, & namely such as happen by the speciall appoynment & work of Allmichtie God, w^{ch} he hath lately shewed by taking unto him from yo^r company a daughter of yours, Yet for as much as we conceauing the greefe you yet feele thereby (as in such cases naturall parents are accustomed) we wold not haue you ignorant (to ease your sorrow as much as may be) how we take partys of yo^r greefe upon us ; wherof these o^r lettres unto you are witnes ; And will use no persuasione to confirme you, respecting y^e good counsell yo^rselfe can take of yo^rselfe, But to consider that God doth nothing euill, to whose holy will all is subject & must yelde at tymes to us uncertain. He hath yet left unto yo^u y^e comfort of one daughter of very good hope, whom yf you shall think good to remoue from those partes of unpleasant ayre (yf it be so) into better in these partes, & will send her unto us before Easter, or when you shall think good, assure yo^rselfe that we will haue a speciall care of her, not doubting but as

¹ *State Papers Dom., Eliz. Warrant Book*, vol. 1, p. 83.

² A pencil note says *Ambrosia*.

you are well suaded of or fauor towards yorself, So will we make furder demonstracion thereof in her, if yo^w will send her unto us, And so comforting yo^w for the one, and leaving this or offer of or good will, to yo^r own consideracion for the other, we committ you to Almichtie God.

We may presume that this invitation to Court was accepted, for when Philip returned from abroad, in the spring of 1575, his mother and his sister Mary had been living at Court for some time.¹ We may surmise that during the next five years the brother and sister grew to know and love each other. In the absence of any record to the contrary, we may also surmise that, during these years at Court, the young girl had at least seen her future husband, Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, whose father, it will be remembered, had been her godfather.

The first notice of this projected marriage occurs in a letter from Sir Henry Sidney to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester.² The letter is written from Dundalk, February 4, 1576.³

Your lordshyppys later wrytten letter I receued the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my lord of Pembroke to your lordshyp ; by both which I fynd, to my excedyng great confort. the lykleod of a maryage

¹ Stated in Fox Bourne, *op. cit.* p. 97, and in *Hist. Guide*, p. 29. I have been unable to find a record in the *State Papers*, or in Nichols' *Progresses*.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 88.

³ In this same year Mary Sidney contributed 25 li. to Frobisher's expedition. *State Papers Dom., Eliz.*, 1576.

betwyne his lordship and my doghter, which great honor to me, my mean lyncage and kyn, I attrbyte to my match in your noble house ; for whych I acknoleg my self bound to honor and sarue the same to the uttermost of my pouer ; yea so joyfully haue I at hart, that my dere chyldys so happy an aduancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryon rather than yt should breake. But alas my derest lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer. I am poore ; myne estate as well in lyuelod and moueable is not unknown to your lordshyp, whych wantyth mutch to make me able to equall that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbrook may haue. Twoo thousand £. I confes I haue bequethed her, whych your lordshyp knowyth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyuyng ; and in troth my lord I haue yt not, but borro yt I must and so I wyll : and if your lordshypp wyll get me leaue that I may feede my eyes wyt that joyfull syght of thear couplyng, I wyll gyue her a cup worth fyue hundryth £. Good my lord, bear with my pouerty for if I had it lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllyngly would gyue it protestyng before the almyghty god that if he and all the powers on earth would geue me my choyse of a husband for her, I would choose the earl of Penbrooke. I wryte to my lord of Penbrook, whych hearwyth I send your lordshyp ; and thus I end in answering your most welcome and honorable letter.

The marriage took place on April 21, 1577.¹ In a letter of June 1, 1577, from Edmund Waterhouse at London, to Sir Henry Sidney, occurs the following passage :²

¹ *Sidney Psalter.*

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 191. Doyle's *Official Baronage of England* (London, 1886) places the marriage at 'about April, 1577.'

Upon wednisday last, the erles of Leicester and Warwick, went to killingworth and from thence to buckstons, and so as it is thought to Wilton, to the lord of Pembroke, who with his lady went towards Wiltsheir uppon the same day that the erles departed towards killingworth.

Edmund Waterhouse writes again, August 21, 1577, to say that he has been at Wilton¹

as well to do my duty to the countesse of Pembroke as to haue some speach with mr. phillip concerning your lordships affaires . . . And therefore leuying there the erle, the countesse, mr. phillip, mr. Robert sydney, and your litell cosin mountagu all in helth ; and the erle in all appearance as duetifull to you as mr. phillip.

The receipt for a part of Mary Sidney's marriage dowry, given by Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, to Sir Henry Sidney, December 7, 1577, is preserved among the British Museum manuscripts.² The following is an exact copy of it :

Receuued by Henry, Earle of Pembroke, of the right honorable Sir Henry Sydney knyght Lo. deputy of Ireland, by handes of Edmonde Pagnham gent. the some of one thousand pounde in part of payment of suche money as was promist unto me upon the mariage of the right honorable La : mary now my wife, daughter of the said Sir Henry Sydney knyght : In witnes whereof I the sayd Earle haue thereunto sett my hand & seale, the seventh daye of December in the twentythe yere of the reigne of our souraigne lady Elizabeth by the

¹ Collins, vol. i, p. 209. Doyle's *Official Baronage of England* (London, 1886).

² 1552, f. i.

grace of god of England Fraunce & Ireland Quene defender of the faithe.

H. PEMBROKE.

[Endorsed in another hand.]

Earle of Pembroke

for 1000^{li.}

1577.

In December 1577 the Earl of Leicester visited his niece and her husband at Wilton. On December 12, Henry Killigrew writes to William Davison :¹ ‘ My Lords of Warwick and Leicester are ridden to my Lord of Pembroke at Wilton, to sport there awhile.’ And on December 18, Edw. Horsey writes to William Davison :² ‘ This day my Lord of Leicester is to return to the Court ; he has been absent ten days, making merry with his nephew, the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton.’

The difficulty which Sir Henry Sidney experienced in paying the rest of his daughter’s dowry is shown in his letter to the Queen, from Dublin Castle, February 13, 1578.³ I quote the passage :

There resteth yet untold somewhat concernynge myne owne perticular, whereunto I must humbly craue your Majestie to enclyne a gratiouse eare : the matter is, most reuered Souereigne, that I heare (not a little to my Greife and great discomforde) that your highnes hath denied to signe your warraunt for the payment of three thowsand and one pounde that is dewe unto me upon

¹ *State Papers, Addenda, 1566–79*, p. 523. (Davison was Ambassador to the Low Countries.)

² *Ibid.* pp. 523–4.

³ *Collins, vol. 1*, p. 237.

certeine bills. . . . And those bills I sought onely not to enriche my selfe (as some that enuie me seme to gaue forth) but (without my to great losse) to inable me the better to pay my lord of Penbroke the mariage money I ought hym for my daughter ; which bills amount but to one pounde more then the money I haue and must pay hym. And, most sacred souereigne, that things should be taken in that sense, or so hardly construed against me by your Majestie, is no small greife and torment of my mynde unto me.

It is difficult, without many more records than those that have survived, to offer a clear or just judgment of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke. He was born about 1534, and was the oldest son of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (present creation).¹ His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, and sister of Queen Catherine Parr. He was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge ; and at Queen Mary's coronation was made a knight of the Bath, September 29, 1553. Upon his father's death, in 1570, he succeeded as second Earl of Pembroke.²

He had been already twice married : the first time to Catherine Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and sister of Lady Jane Grey. This marriage took place on Whitsunday, May 21, 1553, at Durham House, the London residence of

¹ That is, of the new line, created by Henry VIII.

² Doyle, J. E. : *Official Baronage of England* (London, 1886), vol. 3; Collins, Arthur : *Peerage of England*, 1768, vol. 3, pp. 37-9. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. *Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke* (by Sidney Lee).

the Duke of Northumberland ; and was intended by that nobleman to assist in securing the succession to the crown of Lady Jane Grey, who, on the same day, married his son Guilford Dudley. But the marriage was never consummated, and in 1554 Queen Mary's influence led the bridegroom's father to consent to its dissolution.¹

Eight years later, on February 17, 1562-3, Lord Herbert married Catherine, daughter of

¹ Some accounts of this Earl, preserved in the Bodleian Library, tell us that his first wife, Catherine Grey, had some title to the crown (*Ashmole*, 829, 11) ; that he was divorced from her in 1562 (*ibid.* 1790, 134) ; and that she afterwards married the Earl of Hertford (*ibid.* 826, 5). Among the *Tanner MSS.* (193, pp. 224, 227) may be found copies of two letters from Lord Herbert to this lady. The letters are dated July 19 and July 22, 1559, and are too curiously unpleasant to be reproduced. These records must be unreliable.

In a very handsome volume of *Arms of Peers*, 1599 (Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, B 94, fol. 186), occurs the following account of Henry Herbert and his family :

'Henry Herbert knight of the most honorabl oder of the garter Lord Herbert of Cardyff, parr, Rosse, of Kendall, Fitz-Hugh, marmion and St. Quintin erll of penbrok and Lord president of her maiesties principalitie of wales and the marches the of, And also lieutenant generall of the sam, He maried to his first wiff the Ladie Kathe daughter to George erll of Sherowsbery by whom he gott 10 issue, and after her deth he maried the Ladie Marie the daughter of Sr Henry Sydney knight of the honorabl oder of the garter and lord president of wals etc., by the Ladie Marie the daughter of the nobl prince John Duke of Northumberland and by her had issue william Lord Herbert, philipp Herbert, Ladie Catherin : and Ladie Anne, whom I pray god longe to continue in prosperouse estat.'

This account omits the Earl's first marriage—from reasons of policy or of ignorance, as the case may be. Nor did this herald know, apparently, that the 'Ladie Catherin' had died at the age of three years and one day. (*Sidney Psalter.*)

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. This lady died without children in 1575.

Whatever his character may have been, the Earl of Pembroke was undoubtedly a man of culture and ability. According to John Aubrey, he collected heraldic manuscripts, and was a patron of heralds and antiquaries. A recent writer¹ suggests that Lady Pembroke could scarcely have been much in love with her husband. This supposition seems well founded when we recreate in imagination the probable emotions of a sixteen-year-old girl joined, in a marriage of convenience, to a man more than twenty-five years older than herself and infinitely more experienced, for good and for evil, in worldly affairs.

Of the Earl of Pembroke's extant letters of state, there are few that contain any personal or biographical information.² Nevertheless, he must have been acceptable both as a courtier and a statesman, for he held more than one important administrative office; in especial, succeeding his father-in-law as Lord President of Wales. He was an intimate friend of the Earl of Leicester; and he seems to have succeeded in keeping always the good will of Elizabeth.

¹ Philip Sidney: *The Sidneys of Penshurst* (London, 1901), pp. 112 *et seq.*

² *Brit. Mus. MSS.*, *Salisbury MSS.*, *Stradling Correspondence*. These will be referred to later.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE (1577-1601)

UPON her marriage, Lady Pembroke's home became, of course, Wilton House, the seat of the Earls of Pembroke, in Wiltshire, about three miles from Salisbury. As her literary and social life had its centre at Wilton, it will be necessary to give a brief history and description of this famous place.

The visitor to Wilton at the present time sees a massive, handsome house built in quadrangular form, with a central court. But this is by no means the same edifice which Lady Pembroke knew, for since her death, in 1621, the house has been twice partially burned, and twice rebuilt or remodelled.¹ The history of Wilton, and its appearance in Lady Pembroke's time, as nearly as we can reconstruct it, are as follows.

The site of Wilton was originally that of a nunnery, the Abbey of Wilton. In 1539 the Abbey, which was then about seven hundred years old,

¹ *Wilton House Guide*, by Capt. N. R. Wilkinson (London, 1908), pp. 80 *et seq.*

was obliged to surrender to Henry VIII. In 1542 Henry granted the site of the Abbey, and most of the surrounding land, to his esquire of the body, William Herbert. The latter, who was presently knighted and, a little later, created first Earl of Pembroke (new line¹), commenced the building of Wilton House, which has remained to the present time in possession of the Pembroke family. This first Earl was a stalwart soldier,—‘a mad, fighting young fellow,’ Aubrey calls him,—and seems to have had many characteristics of the ‘self-made man.’ Fortunately for his reputation with posterity, John Aubrey’s picturesque story of Earl William’s discourteous remarks to the nuns of Wilton, when he turned them out after Queen Mary’s death, cannot now be credited.² It seems plain, however, that he made a clean sweep of nearly all the monastic buildings. According to Nightingale,³ there is no part of the Abbey contained in the present house. Aubrey says: ‘In Edward the Sixth’s time, the great house of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, was built with the ruins of Old Sarum,’ and—in the opinion of antiquaries—this may well be true, for Old Sarum formed a convenient stone quarry for the neighbourhood during several centuries.

The accompanying sketch of Wilton House, as

¹ See above, p. 32, note 1.

² *Brief Lives*, art. *William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke*.

³ Nightingale, Jas. E.: *Memorials of Wilton* (London, 1906), pp. 41–102.

it appeared in 1563, is taken from the original in an old MS. copy of the 'Pembroke Terrier,' dated 1563. The present illustration is a reduced copy of the original. The drawing indicates hardly more than the general features of the building ; nevertheless it conveys a fairly distinct idea of what the principal front was at that time. The large court with its gate-house was the scene of a grand reception of Queen Elizabeth, by Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, in 1574, or three years before his marriage to Mary Sidney. The royal visit is thus described :¹

The Queene's Majesty returning from Bristowe her Highnesse was receaved by the Earl [of Pembroke] accompanied with many of his honorable and worshipfull friends, on a fayre, large, and playn hill, about five miles from Wilton ; having a good band of men in all their livery coats, well horsed, who being placed in one rank, another line of the Earl's gentlemen servants stood about a stone's cast behind their masters on horseback in like order. The Queene's Grace stayed on the southern hill untill all were passed, looking and viewing them as they passed by ; and when her Majesty entered in att the outer gate, the Countesse,² with divers ladyes and gentlemen meekly received her Highnesse. This outer court was beset on both sides the way with the Earl's men, as thick as could be, standing one by another, through which lane her grace passed in her chariott, and lighted at the inner gate. Her Highness lay at

¹ Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1, p. 409. Quoted by Nichols from Sir Rice Merrick's *Antiquities of Glamorganshire*.

² Not Mary Sidney, but the *second* wife of Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl.

Wilton till Monday, when, after dinner her grace removed to Salisbury ; during all which time her Majesty was boeth merry and pleasant.

Captain Wilkinson divides the building of Wilton House into four periods ; of these, the first one, which lasted from about 1542 to about 1600, and which he names the ‘ Tudor ’ period, is that during which Lady Pembroke lived there. We may think of Lady Pembroke’s Wilton, then, as having had the same quadrangular plan that the house now has, and as having also had somewhat the same outline. The actual present structure, however, must be almost entirely different from the one she knew.

The nearest approach that we now have to a contemporary description of Wilton in Lady Pembroke’s time is that of the not thoroughly reliable John Aubrey,¹ published first in 1685. Britton, Aubrey’s editor, in the edition of 1847, says :²

Aubrey’s account of the famous seat of the Pembroke family at Wilton, and of its choice and valuable contents, will be found exceedingly interesting. His statements are based upon his own knowledge of the mansion before the Civil Wars, and upon information derived from Thomas, (8th) Earl of Pembroke, Dr. Caldicot, who had been chaplain to the Earl’s family, and Mr. Uniades, who also held some appointment in the establishment. . . . Philip, Earl of Pembroke (1650–1669), experienced some

¹ Aubrey, John : *Memoires of Naturall Remarques in the County of Wilts*, ed. John Britton, London, 1847.

² P. 82.

pecuniary difficulties, and the valuable collection of pictures and books formed by his predecessor was sold by auction and dispersed for the benefit of his creditors. Aubrey's description, from his own familiar knowledge of them, before the sale, is therefore the more curious and valuable.

I quote Aubrey's description of the library at Wilton :¹

THE LIBRARIE.—Here was a noble librarie of bookes choicely collected in the time of Mary, Countesse of Pembroke. I remember there were a great many Italian bookes ; all their poets ; and bookes of politie and historie. Here was Dame Julian Barnes of Hunting, Hawking, and Heraldry, in English verses, printed temp. Edward the Fourth. (Philip, third earle,² gave Dame Julian Barnes to Capt. Edw. Saintlo, of Dorsetshire.) A translation of the whole book of Psalmes, in English verse, by Sir Philip Sydney, writt curiously, and bound in crimson velvet and gilt ; it is now lost. Here was a Latin poëme,³ a manuscript, writt in Julius Cæsar's time. Henry Earle of Pembroke was a great lover of heraldrie, and collected curious manuscripts of it, that I have seen and perused ; e.g., the coates of armes and short histories of the English nobility, and bookes of

¹ Aubrey, John, *op. cit.* p. 86. See also his *Brief Lives*, vol. i, art. *Mary Herbert*.

² Aubrey is wrong ; the first Philip was fourth earl of the new creation.

³ Elsewhere (p. 60) Aubrey says : 'Dr. Caldicot told me that in Wilton library there was a Latine poeme (a manuscript), wrote about Julius Cæsar's time, where was mention of tumblers (pigeons), and that they were found no where but in Britaine. I asked him if 'twas not Gratius ; he told me no. Quære Mr. Chr. Wace, if he remembers any such thing ? The books are now most lost and gonre : perhaps 'twas Martial.'

genealogies ; all well painted and writt. 'Twas Henry that did sett up all the glasse scutchions about the house ; *quære* if he did not build it ? Now all these bookes are sold and dispersed as the pictures.

The greater part of Lady Pembroke's married life—the twenty-four years from 1577 to her husband's death in 1601—must have been passed at Wilton.¹ She apparently spent some part of her time, however, at Ivy Church and at Ramsbury, both smaller places in Wiltshire. Her translation of Garnier's 'Antonie' is dated 'At Ramsburie, 26 Nov. 1590.' Her London residence was the well-known Baynard's Castle, on St. Paul's Wharf ; and in the Sidney and the Pembroke correspondence we find innumerable references to this mansion.

To Wilton, in 1580, came for a prolonged stay Philip Sidney, who was in temporary disfavour at Court for his opposition to the Queen's projected marriage with the Duc d'Anjou. His long and interesting letter to the Queen, protesting against the alliance and stating his reasons, may be read in Collins' 'Letters and Memorials of State.'² But this letter merely angered Elizabeth ; and the writer, banished from Court, retired to his sister's house at Wilton. Here, then, in this year, he began the writing of his famous pastoral romance

¹ Aubrey's story that ner husband feared to trust her long at Court (*Brief Lives*, vol. i, art. *Mary Herbert*) seems malicious as well as untrue.

² Vol. i, pp. 287-93.

'The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia.' The dedicatory epistle, 'To my dear ladie and sister,' and the opening words, 'most deare, and most worthy to be most deare Lady,' express the affectionate friendship existing between Lady Pembroke and her brother.

Aubrey had probably nothing but a tradition upon which to base his statement that much of the 'Arcadia' was written at Ivy Church. Collins, writing before 1746, says :¹

There's a room at Wilton, the lower Pannels whereof are finely painted with representations of the stories mentioned therein.

Aubrey also speaks of this decoration, which must have disappeared in subsequent remodellings of the house. At any rate it is not mentioned in the present accounts of Wilton.

According to the records in the 'Sidney Psalter,' a source which has already been described,² Lady Pembroke had four children : William, afterwards third Earl of Pembroke ; Katharine ; Anne ; and Philip, who succeeded his brother as fourth Earl in 1630. I quote the entries :

The nativitie of William Herbert first sonne to the righte honorable the erle of Penbrooke, the eighte of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fyue hundred, and foure-score : the godmother the Quenes most excellent maiestie, godfathers, Ambrose erle of

¹ Vol. I, p. 102, *Memoir*.

² See p. 4.

Warricke in his owne person, and Robart erle of Leicester, by his Deputie S^r Phillippe Sydney. [Hand A.]

The natiuittie of Katherine eldest daughter to the right honorable Henrie erle of Penbrooke the fyftetenth of October in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fyue hundred, fourescore and one, the godmothers were, the Countesse of Huntington, and the Ladie Anne Ascue, the godfather was the Lord President of Walles, grandfather to the said yonge Ladie. [Hand A.]

The death of the same La: Katherine eldest daughter to the said Harrie Erle of Penbrooke was at Wilton the xvijth of Octob. 1584 being threyeare old and one daie, a child of promised much excellencie if she mought haue lived, and was buried in Wilton Church the seuententh of the same. [Hand B.]

The natiuittie of the ladie Anne Harbert, second daughter to the righte honorable Henry earle of Penbrooke, the nynthe of Marche in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, fyue hundred, fourescore and two [new style, 1583] the godfather, the lord Shandoes, the godmothers, the countesse of Warricke, and the Ladie anne Talbott. [Hand A.]

The birth of Phillip second sonn to the right honorable Henry Erle of Penbrooke was on the sixteenth day of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fие hundred foure score and foure: The godmother was his Grandmother the ladie Mary Sydney; his Godfathers S^r: Phillip Sydney knight, and M^r Robert Sydney esquier his Uncles. [Hand B.]

The birth of their elder son in 1580 must have been a joyful occasion for the Earl and the Countess of Pembroke. In the 'Stradling Correspondence' may be found the following pretty note from Lord Pembroke to his 'very lovinge cosen S^r Edward Stradling, Knight.'

I thanke yow, my good cozin, for rejoysinge wth me
for the blessing that God hathe bestowed uppon me ;
hartelye wysshinge yow the like sonne, knowinge it
woulde be unto yow, and my cozин yo^r bedfellowe, a greate
joye and conforte, as this is to my wyf and me. And
soe, wth my wife's and my righte harty comenda^cons
to you bothe, I ende. At Wilton, the xxixth of Aprill,
1580.

Yo^r lovinge cozen

H. PEMBROKE.¹

That the Queen should have consented to be godmother to Lady Pembroke's first-born was also, of course, a very special honour, in spite of the fact that the researches of modern students at the Public Record Office have brought to light a list of 101 other babies thus similarly honoured by Elizabeth.² In the Treasurer's Accounts may be found a record of the Queen's expenses at the christening of the young Lord Herbert. If ten days were occupied by the various ceremonies of the christening, it must have been an elaborate festivity. If, also, each occasion were equally expensive, the Queen's duties as Godmother must have been a considerable item in her yearly expenditure.

To SYMON BOWYERE, one of thordinarie gent, usshers
of her Maiesties Chambre to be by him given by way of

¹ *Stradling Correspondence*, ed. J. M. Traherne, London,
1840.

² Rye, Constance E. B., *Queen Elizabeth's God children*. *The Genealogist*, vol. 2 (new series), pp. 292 *et seq.* Record taken
from Enrolled Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber
(L.T.R.). Box F, No. 2, membr. 11, dorso.

her highnes rewarde to the nurse and midwife at the Christeninge of the Erle of Pembrok his sonne and heire,¹ to whom her Ma^{tie} was Godmother—C^s. To y^e saide SYMON BOWYERE for thallowance of himselfe, one grome of the Chambre, and one grome of y^e warderobe, and their horses, for carryinge the Queenes Maiesties guifte from the Courte of Whitehall to Wilton by commandement of the Lorde Chamberlayne and for their attendinge and makinge readie for y^e Christeninge of the Lorde Harberte, sonne and heire to y^e Erle of Pembrok by the space of x dayes, *Mense Maij*, 1580, *Anno xxij° Regni predicti*, as by a bill signed by the lord Chamberlayne appeareth—vj^{li} xiijs^s iiijd^d.

Except for these few accounts, with all that they connote, the record of Lady Pembroke's life between 1580 and 1590 is practically a blank. We may only guess at it from what is known concerning the history of the Sidneys during this decade.

In 1581 the French treaty of marriage was renewed, and Elizabeth's courtiers apparently decided to acquiesce as gracefully as possible. Philip Sidney accordingly, being once more in favour, took a prominent part in the entertainments provided for the Duc d'Anjou and his train.² Then in January 1583 he was knighted; and on Friday, September 21, of the same year he was married to Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham.

¹ Young Lord Herbert is no. 55 in Mrs. Rye's list. No. 71 (Nov. 1585) is Sir Philip Sidney's daughter; no. 83 (Feb. 1592) is Sir Robert Sidney's daughter.

² Collins, vol. I, p. 103, *Memoir*.

Of Lady Pembroke's father and mother at this time we have less brilliant and happy accounts. In Sir Henry Sidney's vivid autobiographical letter of March 1, 1583, to Sir Francis Walsingham,¹ he describes himself as 'fifty-four years of age, toothless and trembling.' He details his services to his country, and gives a brilliant sketch of the history of Ireland from 1566 to 1578. He himself has now 'not so much ground as will feed a mutton'; he is £5000 in debt, and £30,000 worse than he was at the death of Edward VI. Among the hardships which he suffered during the course of his Irish service: 'in my first passage I lost by shipwrack the most of my houshold stuff & utisensills, my wifie whole appayrail & all her jewels, many horses and stable stuff &c.' Finally, his wife has lost her beauty as a result of her devoted service to the Queen. 'When I went to Newhaven,' writes Sir Henry, 'I lefte her a full faire ladye in myne eye at leaste the fayerest, and when I returned I found her as foule a ladie as the smale poxe coulde make her. W^{ch} she did take by continuall attendaunce upon her ma^{tis}. most precious person, sick of the same disease; the scars of w^{ch}, to her resolute discomfort ever since, remain in her face, so as she now liveth solitarilie *sicut nicticorax in domicilio suo.*'

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth.* A most interesting document, but too long to quote in full.

These years, however, were the most brilliant of Philip Sidney's short life. We read much at this time of his keen interest in American colonisation. In July 1584 he writes from Court to Sir Edward Stafford :¹ 'We are haulf perswaded to enter into the journey of sir humprey gilbert very eagerli ; whereunto your mr. hackluit hath serued for a very good trumpet.' But his cherished plan for fitting out and joining an expedition to America in the summer of 1585 was forbidden by the Queen, who—according to Collins²—'was unwilling to risk a person of his worth, in an emploiment so remote and of so hazardous a nature.' Instead, he was made Lord Governour of Flushing, and General of the Horse under his uncle the Earl of Leicester. In November 1585 he set out for the Low Countries to begin what proved to be a dreary winter of anxious and forced inaction.

That the year 1586 was a sad and troubled one for Lady Pembroke there can be no doubt. On the fifth of May Sir Henry Sidney died. Holinshed says³ he died at the Bishop's Palace in Worcester ; Collins gives Ludlow Castle as the place. His body was conveyed with great ceremony through London to Penshurst in Kent. There, on June 21, 1586, he was buried in the chancel of the church.

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 298 (from original in *Gallia Letters*, 1584–89, Public Record Office). See also Fulke Greville, chap. vii.

² Vol. 1, p. 103, *Memoir*. See also Fulke Greville's *Life*.

³ *Chronicle*, ed. cit. vol. 4, p. 877 ; vol. 6, p. 405.

At the time of his death Sir Henry Sidney was nearly fifty-seven years old. He had been for twenty-six years Lord President of Wales and three times Lord Deputy of Ireland. Fulke Greville says of him :¹

Sir *Henry Sidney* was a man of excellent naturall wit, large heart, sweet conversation : and such a Goverour as sought not to make an end of the State in himself but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his Countrey. Witnes his sound establishments both in *Wales*, and *Ireland*, where his Memory is worthily grateful unto this day : how unequall & bitter soever the censure of Provincials is usually, against sincere Monarchal Governours . . .

His will, dated 8 January, 1581,² made his son Philip the sole executor. Philip was also to be the guardian of his younger brother Robert. The guardianship of the youngest son, Thomas, was decreed to Sir Henry Sidney's brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon. Robert received the manor of Scampton in Lincolnshire ; Thomas the property known as Hanbecke in Yorkshire ; Penshurst, and all the rest of the estate were to go to Philip. There is apparently no mention of Lady Pembroke, whose marriage portion probably took the place of a bequest.

On the 9th of the succeeding August³ occurred

¹ *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Nowell Smith, 1907, p. 4.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 96, *Memoir*. Quoted from *Regist. Windsor*, qu. 27.

³ See Holinshed, vol. 4, p. 879, for an account of her death.

the death of Lady Mary Sidney. Of the strength, affection, and tenacity of this lady's character, we have abundant proof in her letters. One likes to think of the affectionate esteem that existed between such 'good frends' as Lady Mary and her husband, and we may easily suppose that she had little desire to survive him long. Nor need we doubt the respect in which she was held by her children. Philip Sidney, writing to his father in 1578 to discuss Sir Henry's status at Court for the time being, says :¹

In the meane tyme yowr frendes may labor heere
to bringe to a better passe, suche yowr reasonable and
honorable desyres which tyme can better bringe forthe
then speede. Amongs which frendes, before god there
is none proceedes either so thoroly or so wysely as my
lady my mother. For myne own parte I haue had
onely lighte from her.

Fulke Greville also characterises Lady Sidney :²

On the other side, his [Philip Sidney's] Mother, as she was a woman by descent of great Nobility, so was she by nature of a large ingenuous spirit. Whence, as it were even racked with native strengths, shee chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time, than come upon the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement, the mischance of sicknesse hauing cast such a kind of veile over her excellent beauty, as the modesty of that sex doth many times upon their native and heroicall spirits.

¹ Letter of April 25, 1578. Collins, vol. 1, p. 247, from original at Penshurst.

² *Op. cit.* p. 5.

Lady Sidney was also buried in the Sidney Chapel at Penshurst by the side of her husband.¹

But in the autumn of this year, 1586, the Sidneys underwent a loss even more poignant. The tragic story of Sir Philip Sidney's death on October 17, 1586, at Arnheim in the Netherlands, after a wound received at Zutphen, is too well known to need rehearsal here.²

In Sir Philip Sidney's will³ he leaves 'to my deare sister the countesse of Pembroke, my best jewell, beset with diamonds,' and a diamond ring to each of several persons, one of whom was 'the right honorable the earl of Pembroke.' Beyond this, however, there is no mention of Lady Pembroke in any of the records or narratives of her brother's death.

In his will Sir Philip arranged that should he lack a posthumous male heir, his estate should revert to his brother Robert. This young man, now in his twenty-fourth year, became the head of the family and the Lord of Penshurst. Collins thus describes his early years:⁴

He was baptised at Penshurst, 28 Nov. 1563, 6 Elis.⁵ And had a generous Education, both at Home and

¹ Bodleian MS., *Ashmole*, 836 (61), f. 251 is an interesting document. It contains the heralds' notes for the funeral of Lady Sidney. Fol. 253 of the same vol. is a bill requesting payment for Sir Henry Sidney's funeral.

² See Fulke Greville and Collins for full accounts.

³ Reprinted in Collins, vol. I, pp. 109-13, *Memoir*.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 114, *Memoir*.

⁵ Church register at Penshurst.

Abroad. Having spent some time in the University of Oxford,¹ he, in 1578, was sent to travel and to attain foreign Languages, as appears from a Letter of his Father, Sir Henry Sydney to him, dated 24 March, that year.²

Robert Sidney, in 1585, went with his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, to Flushing. He was in the battle of Flushing, together with his brother Philip, and was knighted for his bravery by the Earl of Leicester on October 7, 1586. On July 16, 1588, he was constituted Lord Governor of Flushing,³ and from this time on he took part in affairs of state. A great many of his letters are preserved in the Sidney and the Salisbury manuscripts, as well as among the State Papers, and they are our chief resource for the history of the family between 1590 and 1600.

During his father's lifetime Robert Sidney was married (September 23, 1584) to Barbara Gamage, a youthful Welsh heiress. The wedding took place at St. Donat's in Glamorganshire, the house of Barbara's cousin and guardian, Sir Edward Stradling. I quote the following account of the marriage:⁴

¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. 1, p. 762.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 246. See also letter of Oct. 28, 1578, p. 271.

³ Collins, vol. 1, p. 114, *Memoir*, from Patent 31 Elis. at Penshurst.

⁴ *Hist. Guide*, pp. 48-9. See also various amusing letters, relating to the match, in the *Stradling Correspondence*, ed. J. M. Traherne, London, 1840. This marriage is likewise noted in the *Sidney Psalter*.

It was no wonder that a young lady of such birth and fortune (for she was accounted one of the wealthiest heiresses of the day) should have had many suitors for her hand. Most likely Robert had made her acquaintance at Ludlow, when he was there with his father. The courtship seems to have been secretly favored by the Earl and Countess of Pembroke, though Sir Walter Raleigh had sent a special message from Court, warning the guardian of Barbara that no marriage was to be contracted without the Queen's consent. Disregarding the warning, the marriage was solemnized in the presence of the Earl of Pembroke and many others. And only just in time, for a few hours after the ceremony had taken place, a messenger from Queen Elizabeth arrived in hot haste, bearing the Royal command that no marriage should take place and that Robert Sidney was to return forthwith to London.

Sir Robert Sidney and Barbara his wife¹ had twelve children, four sons and eight daughters. The fourth and only surviving son, Robert, became his father's heir.²

On May 4, 3 James I (1605), Sir Robert Sidney was made Viscount L'Isle and Baron Sidney of Penshurst,³ and upon the death, without children, in 10 James I (1614) of Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, and only child of Sir Philip Sidney, he became heir to his uncles, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In July 1616 he was installed at Windsor as one

¹ This lady it is whose housewifely skill is praised by Ben Jonson, in his Ode on Penshurst.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 120, *Memoir*, from records at Penshurst.

³ *Ibid.* p. 117.

of the Knights of the Garter, and in August 1618 he was created Earl of Leicester.¹ He died at Penshurst on July 13, 1626, and was buried there.²

I have interposed this brief sketch of Sir Robert Sidney because a great part of the scant biographical mention that may now be found concerning Lady Pembroke is connected with this brother, or occurs in his correspondence. He seems to have been a man of average ability, with a fair share of the public talent characteristic of his family, but without the literary taste and capacity that distinguished his brother and his sister.

From 1586 to her husband's death, in 1601, we may guess, now from a scattered record or two, now from a letter, or an incidental mention in a letter, what the probable course of Lady Pembroke's life was. From the official letters of Lord Pembroke, among the British Museum³ and the Salisbury manuscripts,⁴ may be suggested some of the possible changes of residence made by Lord and Lady Pembroke during this period. On April 11, 1587, Lord Pembroke writes from Ticknell Palace, Bewdley, to the Lord Treasurer concerning the officers of the Judiciary Courts in Wales; a

¹ Collins, vol. 1, p. 118, *Memoir*.

² *Ibid.* p. 120.

³ *Harl.* 6994, ff. 64, 82, 203; *Harl.* 6995, ff. 8, 10, 12, 31, 47
Harl. 6996, f. 60; *Harl.* 6997, f. 180.

⁴ *Salisbury MSS.* January to November 1597-8 *passim*.

letter of July 18 in the same year communicates with Lord Burghley from Cardiff Castle, concerning a murder trial ; from Wilton he writes on September 10, 1589, to the Lord Treasurer complaining that he 'should bee ordered to remain half y^e year at *Ludlow*, a thing neuer imposed upon his Predecessors in yt office' (the Lord-Presidency of Wales to which he had been appointed upon the death of his father-in-law). From Ivy Church, June 20, 1590, he addresses to Lord Burghley a request that his estate, which had been decayed by his services to the Queen, should be recruited by 'some princely bounty' from her. Again, on August 11, 1590, he writes concerning a suspected conspiracy, and some other official matters.¹ In April 1591 Lord Pembroke dates his reports from Baynard's Castle, in London ; the last two letters of the Harleian series are unimportant ones, from Wilton, in 1593 and 1595 respectively.

Whether Lady Pembroke always accompanied her husband or not, it is evident that much of her time was passed in literary work at Wilton, or at Ramsbury. Her translation of 'Antonie' is dated 'at Ramsburie, 26 November 1590,' and her translation of De Mornay's 'Discours de la Vie et de la Mort,' dated May 13, 1590, was published

¹ The *Stradling Letters*, *ut cit. supra*, contain some interesting letters from Lord Pembroke to Sir Edward Stradling. There is no biographical information to be gained from them ; but they show a man much concerned with affairs, and possessing considerable power of administration.

in 1592. To this period, also, belong the first of those few letters from Lady Pembroke herself which have survived the passage of three centuries. The following gentle note, which explains itself, is addressed to her young sister-in-law, Barbara, the wife of Sir Robert Sidney.¹

Sister, How yow are guided of a midwife I know not
 butt I hope well & dowt not. for a Nurse I will asuer
 you for that time[.] till it pleased God to free her from
 that charge I found so good Cawse to lyke of her in euery
 respect as I doo not thinke you coold haue bin better
 furnished any way. You shall find her most quiet and
 most carefull, of so young a woman so little experienced
 more then woold be thought & as much as you woold
 wisshe & shall be necessary, lett her be much mad of as
 I know she shall & as I am suer she will deserve if god send
 her well & safe to yow undertaking so unusiall a trauaile.
 & thus haue yow the fortune to succeed me still. &
 my Nurses onely to fitt yow. God send yow a goodly
 boy & I asuer my selfe she will doo her part to your
 content if the sea deliuer her no worse to yow than from
 home she departeth.² the same god send yow a blessed
 and a happy time. I wisshe it from my hart with my
 blessing to my pretty Daughter[.] my good Barbara
 farewell as my selfe. written this 9 of September 1590.

Yr most loueing Sister
 M. PEMBROKE.

[Addressed :]

To my beloved Sister
 the lady Sidney
 these.

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS. 15232. Holograph.*

² Barbara, Lady Sidney, was evidently with her husband in the Netherlands at this time.

The impression of Lady Pembroke's character conveyed by this letter is perhaps the most intimate one that remains. Her wise and kindly solicitude is singularly touching. If—as may well be true—the clause ‘till it pleased God to free her from that charge’ refers to the little daughter Katherine¹ who had died in babyhood, Lady Pembroke was sending her own nurse over to Flushing to aid the young and inexperienced sister-in-law.

As has already been said, what we have left of Lady Pembroke's original poetry, and of her translations, probably belongs to the period between 1590 and 1600. One cannot help believing that she produced more than these, but such a belief is still unsupported. I shall defer to a subsequent chapter, however, the discussion of her literary work, and shall complete—in this chapter and the next—the account of her life so far as it may be reconstructed.

Osborne, in his ‘Memoirs,’² mentions having ‘seene incomparable Letters’ by Lady Pembroke, and the following gracefully expressed note to Sir Edward Wotton³ seems to confirm Osborne’s judgment. I place the letter in this period on the strength of the endorsement. If ‘him who was

¹ Suggested to me by Professor R. E. Neil Dodge.

² Osborne, Francis: *Historical Memoirs on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James* (Part II. *Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James*, p. 70), London, 1658.

³ Lambeth Palace MSS. *Bacon Papers*, 650, no. 231. *The Countess of Pembroke to Sir E. Wotton*.

to me as you knowe' refers to her brother Philip, and ' those sadd tymes' to the years immediately after 1586, then it seems reasonable to suppose that this letter belongs to the early 1590's.

Cossen Wotton[:] the first message this paper shall deliuier is my best salutacōn and euer welwishinge to yr self[.] from that wonted good affeccōn still continued doe acknowledge yow worthy of the same regarde wherein yow are asseured to rest for suche hath bin your merit not onlie towards my self but in memory of that loue to him w^{ch} held you a deere and speciall frende of his (who was to me as you knowe) [.] I must and doe and euer will doe you this right[,] w^{ch} downe[,] the next is that these maie redeeme a certaine Idle passion which longe since I left in your hands onlie being desyrous to reuiew what the Image could be of those sadd tymes, I very well know unworthy of the humour that then possest me and suche as I know no reason whie yow should yeld me any account of, Yet[,] yf your care of these follies[,] of such a toy haue chanced to keepe that w^{ch} my self haue lost, my earnest desire is that I maie againe see it, that by this bearer my honest Seruant Ramsey safely sealed I maie receiue it, asseuringe yow, I will when you will store yow wth other things better worth your keepinge, onlie satisfie me in this and I will make good my worde at any tyme[,] more I will not trouble yow wth at this p^rsent, I rest now and euer

Your frend and louinge Cosen

M. PEMBROOKE.

[Addressed :]

To my good Cosen and
worthy frend S^r Ed:
Wotton.

[Endorsed :]

Copie d'une lettre de la
Comtesse de Pembroke
à S^r Edouard Wootton
(and in later ink) 1594.

The references in this letter chalenlge many

conjectures. What was this 'Idle passion'? —and do any vestiges of it remain? Possibly it may have been the elegy now known as 'The Doleful Lay of Clorinda,'¹ and first printed in Spenser's 'Astrophel,' which, together with 'Colin Clouts Come Home Againe,' appeared in 1595. Perhaps, even so early as 1592 or 1593, Spenser might have been collecting elegies from Sidney's friends. Hence, Lady Pembroke may have been trying to recall, for purposes of publication, her own privately circulated poem on her brother's death. At any rate, be such a guess true or untrue, it can do no harm.

In the letters of Rowland Whyte, Sir Robert Sidney's steward,² to his master, during the latter's enforced absences at Flushing, we find occasional references to Lady Pembroke and her husband. On October 8, 1595, R. Whyte writes from London:³

Great a doe there is about the deed of intaile you haue. My lord of Pembroke thinks that yt will come to his children: but I am of another belieffe and truste in god your name shall liue many hundred years, to enioy the benefitt that may come of yt. His lordships lettre unto you, is only concerning the deed and uses.

Then on November 3, 1595, he adds:⁴

My lord of Pembroke is here still, talking of the deed of intaile.

¹ Suggested to me by Professor John W. Cunliffe. See further discussion of this poem, p. 134.

² Collins, *Letters and Memorials*.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 353.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 357.

Whatever was the true nature of this matter, there would seem to have been some momentary strained feeling between the families, for R. Whyte chronicles on November 16, 1595:¹

My lord of Pembroke neuer sent but once to see my lady [Barbara Sidney]. My lord Herbart came once to visit her.

On November 22 he mentions that²

My Lady Pembroke hath bene dangerously ill of a swelling in the throat ; Goodrich went down [from London to Wilton ?] and is said to lavnch it.

The question of a suitable marriage for his eldest son, William Herbert, now fifteen years old, seems very much to have occupied the Earl of Pembroke at this time. On December 5, 1595, R. Whyte relates :³

Sir George Carey takes it very unkindly that my lord of Pembroke broke of the match intended between my lord Herbart and his daughter, and told the Queen it was beawse he wold not assure him 1000 l. a yeare, which comes to his daughter as next a kinne to Queen Anne Bullen. . . .

The Queen used my lord of Pembroke very well at his departure, and sent my lady your sister a jewell, but hath not graunted my lord Harbart his sute for Clarindon. Truly I hard, that if my lord of Pembroke shuld die, who is very pursife and maladife, the tribe of Hunsdon doe laye waite for the wardship of the braue yong lord.⁴

¹ Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, p. 361.

² Collins, vol. 1, p. 363.

³ *Ibid.* p. 372.

⁴ See pp. 106-7 for a further example of this legal arrangement.

During the next five years we find many indications that Rowland Whyte's characterisation of my Lord Pembroke was not an unjust one, and that this elderly and worn nobleman was indeed 'pursife and maladife.'

For the year 1596 one short note remains from Lady Pembroke's hand. It is addressed to that well-known London citizen and courtier, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Julius Cæsar, and is written in behalf of an unfortunate retainer. She says :¹

I would not omitt by this bringer my poore seruant to make you know that my selfe and him am much beholdon unto yow, & do with all thankfullness acknowledge your curtesie. Hoping that it shall please yow to continue to the ending of this long & troublesome sute supporting it as you haue done right against opposition, you shall do in respect of the poore complainante a charitable dede & binde me for them to be doublie thankfull. And so I heartily bidd yow farewell. At Wilton the first of June 1596.

Your louing frend

M. PEMBROKE

[Addressed :]
To my good frend Mr
Doctor Cæsar.²

[Endorsed in another hand :]

i June, 1596

The Countesse of Pembroke on the behalf of a poore seruant.—The Count. of Pembroke.

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS. 12506, f. 235.*

² Since two later letters from Lady Pembroke are addressed to this gentleman, I add a brief account of him.

Sir Julius Cæsar (1558–1636) was of Italian descent. His father, Cesare Adelmore, a graduate of Padua, migrated to London about 1550 and became a well-known physician there.

Unfortunately, we may know no more than this of the 'sute,' nor of the 'poore complainante.' The gentle letter is a pleasant interlude, however, to the gossip of the worthy Rowland Whyte. From the latter, on April 19, 1597,¹ we learn that

My lady Harbart of St. Jullians² is dead; my lord Worcesters eldest sonne made means to haue access to the daughter, which the young gentlewoman refused and would not see hym. Little mr. philipp Harbart is gone towards her; my lord of Pembroke giues hym a lordship ioining to her lands, worth 500 l. a yeare & 3000 l. in ready money. The young gentlewoman, as I heare, accepts of it and will heare of no other husband but him.

My lord Harbart hath, with much a doe, brought his father to consent that he may liue at London, yet not before the next springe.

On April 27 Sir Robert Sidney is informed:³

He was medical adviser to Mary and later to Elizabeth; and the name Cæsar, by which these princesses usually addressed him, was adopted by his children as a surname. Julius Cæsar, the oldest son, graduated at Oxford, then at Paris, and became a well-known advocate and judge during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He held numerous offices under the government, and in 1603 was knighted by James I.

In 1595 he held the office of Master of Requests at Court; and in 1596 he became Master of St. Catherine's Hospital. It was evidently in one or the other of these capacities that this letter from Lady Pembroke is addressed to him. (Condensed from *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. *Julius Cæsar*.)

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 43.

² I have been unable to determine what kinship—if any—existed between these Herberts and the family of the Earl of Pembroke.

³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

I heare that mr. philipp Harbart is married to mrs. Harbart of st. jillians. that my lord Harbart the next spring shall come to Leiden (*sic*).¹ Upon monday did my lord of essex officers pay 4000 l. to my lord of Pembroke in baynards castell.

And on May 8 Rowland Whyte offers this information and sage counsel :²

My lord of essex hath paied my lord of pembroke the 4000 l. he owed him, which lies in this town and turned to no use. I wold your lordship had of it what you want ; the way to worke it is by your lettred to my lady your sister.

Lady Pembroke's unfailing affection for her younger brother is shown also in the following letter :³

Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney.

My lady Pembroke did me the fauor to wryte unto me thanckes for letting her understand how your buisnes stoode here, and fynding by my lettres that your leauue receiuued a crosse or delay, she hath taken occasion to wryte againe and to renew her suite to my lord treasorer. The copie of her lettred unto hym she did vouchsafe to send unto me of her own handwriting : I neuer reade anything that cold express an earnest desire like unto this. I deliuered yt unto hym with myne own handes, and this answer he made me, that he wold be most myndfull of my lady Pembroke requestes at his next going to the Queen.

My lady Pembroke hath againe sent order to Blackborn

¹ Evidently London is meant. See preceding page.

² Collins, vol. 2, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* p. 81.

to make ready baynards castell for your lordship and my lady, for she seemes to belieue that this lettred of hers will prevaile. In your next unto her I pray you take knowledge of this great fauor she doth you. . . .

14 Jan. 1597.

We can only regret that no vestige remains of this letter expressing such an 'earnest desire.' On Ash Wednesday, 1597, the steward adds :¹

Mr. Massinger² is newly come up from the Earl of Pembroke with lettres to the Queen for his lordships leauue to be away this st. georges day. My lady your sister hath written most earnestly once againe to my lord treasurer to procure your leauue to return, and now againe there is a new hope the matter may goe forward, for 900³ [Lord Burghley] seemes to be willing to yeld to the demands.

And on March 2, 1597:⁴

This day a lettred of my lady Pembroke was deliuered by me to my lord treasurer only about your leauue, which I know did greatly aduance your return and you must take knowledge of it.

We find also, for this year, the following letters from Lady Pembroke herself. The first one is most interesting, referring, as it does, to another of the matches proposed for young William Herbert :

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 93.

² Arthur Massinger, the father of the dramatist.

³ The cipher reference to this nobleman. Explained by Collins.

⁴ Collins, vol. 2, p. 93.



no good for what revenge to make so many hole labours & hindres
to my borne & my selfe & i must needs bee deafeke: but I apiece g^r me what often
ever may bee in my mind is regid in my hart, and my bankfality is to be com-
marr other men f^r my way, expet. I. R. hinc token is no me of Enfolds
sweeney & no less in regard of the senvor than he woulde in his selfe. It is a
cordiall & pretious present. not unlyke to giueone a spesiall remedy of a
pleine for of lyke effect did alredy find what so ever of lyke succes p^r
from the currie wherice this p^received: wherinc I now may bethy gromis to
telle that higaynfull comfort w^tout whence I p^rest, I could expet, so much as
I do. So far sorte I fin my borne but higayn affection to and rehement
anwere my desirre hevem as if the late enterven hove mentally &
it y^r suffisant her loun, ther needs no more to g^r assurance & satisfacion
heric: wishing the same to g^r the. ther, accompanied w^t as many bo-
g^r d^r successys of health & happiness as thy earts may yeld g^r.
hane g^r in his safe keping according to my harest privers.

To the affections
assured.

J. H. Bentiford

HOLOGRAPH LETTER FROM THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE TO LORD BURGHLEY.

DATED THE 16 AUGUST 1597

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

To the Right honorable my very good Lo:
the Lo: Threasorer these.¹

My good Lo: what retorne to make for so many noble fauors and kindnes both to my sonne and my selfe I must needs bee to seeke, but I assuer your L-p what defect so euer may bee in my words is supplied in my hart, and my thankfulnes is to bee conceued far other then I can any way expres. Your Lps fine token is to mee of infinight esteeme and no less in regard of the sender then the vertu in it self. It is indeed a cordiall and precious present, not unlyke to prooue a speciall remedy of the sadd spleene, for of lyke effect do I alredy find what so euer is of lykely succes proseeding from the cause whence this proseeded: wherin I now may boldly promis to my selfe that hopeful comfort which, but thence I protest I coold [not] expect so much to joy in as I do. So farr foorth I find my sonns best lykeing affection and resolution to answerre my desire heerin, as, if the late interuiue haue mutually wrought, it is sufficient: suer I am ther needed no more to your assurance and satisfaction hence; wishing the same to your Lp there, accompanied with as many comforts and blessings of health and happiness as this earth may yeeld you. God haue you in his safe keeping according to my hartest praiers. I rest

Your Lps affectionatly assured
M. PEMBROKE.²

[Endorsed by Lord Burghley, 16 August, 1597. Delivered by the hand of Arthur Massinger.]

¹ *State Papers Dom., Eliz.*, vol. 264, ff. 84 and 85. (In Calendar vol. 33, p. 489.)

² This letter was printed in full by J. P. Collier: *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in English Literature* (London, 1865), vol. 1, p. xxxi. Collier says: 'The following letter from the Countess of Pembroke, referring to the proposed marriage of her son with Bridget, the daughter

Accompanying this letter is also one from Lord Pembroke to Lord Burghley :

My good Ld: Massinger is now returned by me with my wife's letters reporting my son's liking of your daughter ; I doe assuer yr Lpe I am not a little glad of that which I hear ; and therefore now as here to fore I refer the proceeding therein to your Lpe : what your Lpe shall conceiue best, that shall I best like of. Massinger hath already acquainted your Lpe with my meaning in some things, and of anything else you desire to be informed I will speedily aduertise you.

Yr Lpe faithfully assured

PEMBROKE.

Fallerston, 16 August, 1597.

On September 3 Lord Pembroke writes again, from Wilton, to Lord Burghley :¹

My servant Massinger has delivered your most kind letters, and acquainted me in reference to the intended marriage between my eldest son and the Lady Bridget : First, that your [grand] daughter is but 13 years of age, and that you are doubtful whether a marriage would bind her now, as it would my son. Secondly, whether she should, in the time of my son's travel, remain with you or with my wife. Thirdly, that for perfecting of

of Lord Burghley, has never been printed . . . To it is appended a letter from the Earl of Pembroke, who seems to have left the matter much to his wife and Massinger.' The young girl, however, must have been Lord Burghley's granddaughter, the child of his second daughter, Anne, who married the Earl of Oxford. Nor does Lord Pembroke's long letter of September 3, following, support Collier's surmise that he was indifferent.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Dom., Eliz., 1595-1597*, p. 497.
Spelling modernised by makers of Calendar.

conveyances between us, you chose Justice Owen to join with Baron Ewens, whom I had named for myself. Lastly, that if I would come up to Parliament, this matter might be concluded with more convenience.

For the first, I have often heard that after a woman has attained 12 years, she can by law consent and be bound by marriage; if this be the case, the marriage of your [grand] daughter may lawfully proceed, and she by it shall be no less bound than my son, yet their continuance together may be deferred until you think good; but for preventing many inconveniences, I prefer a marriage to a contract.

For the second, I think it most convenient that after the marriage, and my son is gone to travel, your [grand] daughter should remain with my wife, whose care of her shall answer the nearness whereby she shall then be linked unto her.

For the third, I very well like of Justice Owen to be joined with Baron Ewens, and doubt not but through their good care all things shall be concluded to our contentments.

For the fourth, I cannot come to Parliament, without extreme peril to my health, and my presence for this private business is not of necessity, for I will make a jointure proportionable to what you will give in marriage with your daughter.

I seek not by this match to enrich myself or advance my younger children, for whatsoever you give I am content that the young couple presently have, and will increase the same with as great a yearly allowance as my estate and course of life can spare. Upon hearing from you, I will so instruct Baron Ewens that my absence shall be no hindrance. My son shall come up himself at the beginning of Parliament, both to attend Her Majesty's pleasure for his intended travel, and to perform

what shall be agreed upon for his proposed marriage. Good my Lord, fail not to procure me licence to be absent from the Parliament, as I am to return into Wales to attend Her Majesty's service. My proxy I give to you.

These are the last family letters that we find addressed to Lord Burghley. On August 4, 1598, the Lord High Treasurer died, and his son, Sir Robert Cecil,¹ who two years before had become Secretary of State, took charge of the government.

Another letter from Lady Pembroke in August 1597² is addressed to Sir Robert Cecil. Although we are not told what the favour is that she so carefully acknowledges, we may easily surmise that it concerned the pending marriage negotiations.

S^r To bee silent now finding so just cause to bee thankfull were a wrong to *you* & an Iniury to my selfe whos disposition hath euer held *you* in very worthy regard & *your* owne merrit doth chaling much more then my best acknowledgment can acquit. howbeit let my desire & endeuor supply the rest, not dowting heareafter of fitter meanes to manefest the same. *Your* great kindnes to my sonn & frendly remembrance of my selfe, no less kindly imbraced, haveing giuen life to this dead paper *you* may please to except as a present testimony as well of my profession as unfained wel wisshing the mynd wherof may it take effect acording to the porpos most affected (& not the least in *your* owne respect) will better approve it selfe if God so please. In the

¹ Made Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

² *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 55, f. 6.

meanewhile & euer I wishe *you* all honor & happenes,
resting

Your frend euer & most assured

M. PEMBROKE.

If it please *you* to grace my humblest thankfullnes &
Joy for the gratiouſ mention receued from her Ma^ty,
takeing knowlidg therof in what maner may seeme
fittest to *your* owne wisedome *you* shall add much to the
bond allredy very great.

[Addressed :]

To my very honorable
good frend S^r Ro:
Cecyll.—these—

[Endorsed :]

Aug. 1597

The countesse of Pem-
broke to my Mr.

In the next month, September 29, 1597, Lady Pembroke writes again to Cecil.¹

S^r I understand that report hath bin made unto *you* of sum speech that shouold pass my L: (not in the best part to be taken) tuching Cramborne. My desire is *you* shouold be trewly satisfied therein, & that in regard of truth & the respect I beare *you*, for otherwise I woold be silent. I protest unto *you* the report was most untrue; and uppon myne owne knowlidg, word, & honor, do assuer *you* ther was not any word spoken at any time to which had *your* selfe bin present *you* coold have taken any exception. If this may suffise *you* shall right both my L: & *your* self in conceuing rightly; if not, if you please to make knowne the Aughter [author] (which exceedingly I desire) it will more manefestly appeere the wrong *you* have both receued, for he must giue him selfe the lye that is so reported. I do acknowledg what is of my part due for *your* kindnes to this part of me;

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers, vol. 55, f. 81.*

I hope he will deserue it, & I know my selfe will be euer thankfull.

So do I rest
Your frend as wellwisshing as any

M. PEMBROKE.

[Addressed :]
To my very honorable
good frend
S^r Ro: Cecyll.

[Endorsed :]
29 September 97
Countesse of Pembroke
to my Mr.

As Cecil was later (in 1604) made Viscount Cranborne, this letter may have had some reference to the possibility, even in 1597, of his being—so to speak—a candidate for such an honour.

This letter recalls Rowland Whyte's characterisation of Lord Pembroke, and indeed, during the next several years we perceive the increasing weight of responsibility upon Lady Pembroke for her husband as well as for her son.

From Wilton, on June 18, 1598,¹ Lord Pembroke petitioned the Queen to allow him to retire to Wiltshire from service on the Marches of Wales because of his 'infirmities,' and in the ensuing April, Sir Robert Sidney, in a letter to Cecil,² mentions his brother-in-law's growing feebleness.

. . . I would have you know that it is neither carelessness nor any vainer humor that makes me importunate to continue in England for a while, but the necessity

¹ *Salisbury MSS.*, vol. 8, p. 220. (R.H.M.C. Reps.)

² *Ibid.* vol. 9, p. 141. Other references to Lord Pembroke's illness and failing powers occur in vol. 9, pp. 351 and 358, and in vol. 10, p. 408.

of my own business.¹ . . . Another reason I have is that my Lord of Pembroke's weaknesses increase, for which he is now on his way towards a water at Bristow. My sister, his wife, hath now no friend to rely upon, her son being under years, but myself; she has asked me to take a step down to her, which I dare not do, lest the Queen should thereby take offence against me. . . .

26 April, 1599.

Later in this year, when Sir Robert Sidney had finally returned to Flushing, we find R. Whyte conveying to him this request:²

My lady Pembroke desires you to send her speedely ouer some of your excellent tobacco.

And one week later he explains:³

Euen now I open a lettred from my lord Harbart to me, who saies, that he hath a continuall paine in his head, and finds no manner of ease, but by taking of tobacco. He wills me to comend hym to you, and to signifie, that you cannot send hym a more pleasing gifte then excellent tobacco. The like request I made from my lady Pembroke.

On April 12, 1600,⁴ we learn that 'My lord and lady Pembroke goe not to Wales, but stay all this somer at Wilton.'

Upon May 10, 1600,⁵ the same faithful informant communicates:

¹ Sir R. Sidney is in England, and is asking not to be sent over to Flushing yet awhile.

² Collins, vol. 2, p. 162. Letter of Jan. 19, 1599.

³ *Ibid.* p. 165. Letter of Jan. 26, 1599.

⁴ Collins, vol. 2, p. 187.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 193.

My lord of Pembroke is much troubled to understand of a consultacion here, about the reforming of his government in the Marches, and the altering of some points in the instructions. My lord Harbert very carefully doth what in hym lies to preuent yt, as a matter touching his father much in honor. It appeares that his autority in many things shalbe lessened ; for her majestie will appoint a clarke of the fines and an auditor to take the accounts ; and what cownsailers shall attend there which was ever left to the Lord presidents discretion. If this course goe forward, yt is very like that my lord Pembroke wilbe weary of his place.

Apparently young Mr. Philip Herbert had not, after all, married the 'young gentlewoman' at St. Julian's, for we learn in this same letter :

A sentence is given in the court of wards, against Sr. Arthur Gorge, that his daughter is the Queens ward ; which sentence was by the judges of the land confirmed, who were called unto it ; and I beleve yong mr. philip Harbert shall have her, for my lord of Pembroke offers the Queen 5000 l. in money and jewels.

On May 31, 1600,¹ R. Whyte adds :

Yt is doubted that mr. philipp Harbert shall not haue the Queens ward . . . for that Sir Arthur Gorge, the father . . . intends her for my lord Howards sonne.

The earle of Hertford comes often to Wilton, and hath made knownen to lord and lady Pembroke the loue he bears to the lady Anne ; if she can affect him, the match will goe forward.

In Rowland Whyte's letters we may trace also

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 197.

the approaching mortal illness of Lord Pembroke. A letter of September 8, 1599, is dated at Baynard's Castle.¹

My lord of Pembroke is fallen sicke again, I fear of his old disease. Goodruch is gon down in all hast. I see the daunger that approaches, by the delay in the matter you wrote of, which liuing might easily be compassed, but being dead it will hardly be obtained. My lady Pembroke hath kept in these three weekes. My lord Harbert is a continuall courtier, but doth not follow his buisnes with that care as is fitt; he is to cold in a matter of such greatnes.

Again, September 12, 1599:²

In my last I writh unto you that my lord of Pembroke had sent for Goodruch because he was ill; now my lord is very ill and daungerously ill and my lord Harbert gon in post to see him, leauing me to obserue what suters might be for the many places he holds under her majestie.

Numerous candidates were indeed already being put forward for the Lord Presidency of Wales. Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Worcester were mentioned, and Sir Robert Sidney himself had an eye upon it. But the Earl rallied, and we read this news, chronicled on September 13, 1599:³

I give diligent attendance, as desired by your honorable nephue, the lord Harbert, whom I greatly honor, because I see and know he loues you deereley. I receued

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 120.

² *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.* p. 123.

yesternight lettres from him that my lord his father hath bene cutt and is past all danger. Here had bene strange and cunning courses held with him, if his father had died, but his recoverie hath put all out of bias. . . . I will now forbear the motion. . . . I purposed to offer to my lord treasurer to procure you the place desired. . . . I am glad for my lord Harberts sake that this qualm is past; I hope he will liue to see his sonne of full yeares.

Michaelmas Day, 1599.¹ My lord Harbert was sent for by the Queens comandement, . . . but his lordships father will not suffer hym to goe away, I belieue it is in respect of his expences. But all is well at Wilton againe, and Goodruch hath done a great cure.

Yet the old Earl had a tenacious hold on life. On one of these very days we find him sending the following long letter to the Queen. The letter shows his characteristic ease of expression, and his characteristic grasp of business and administrative details.

Most gratius soueraine.

The very many, and gratius fauours w^{ch} from yo^r Ma^{ty} I have lately receued, so much increase mine own bounden duty, that I should thinke myself most unworthy of all men yf I could not by all the meanes I possibly may, show myself most humbly thankfull for the same. My health w^{ch} was but lately despaired, is now by the carefull and successful trauell of yo^r seruant Gotherons² so recovered as I doubt not but if yo^r Ma^{ti} will license him for 14 days more to stay with me (w^{ch}

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 128.

² Rowland Whyte must be mistaken in giving 'Goodruch' as the name of this physician.

I most humbly desire) to make it appear that as by yo^r goodness only I am reuiued, so for yo^r service only my life is prolonged. And to make this newly restored life by me to be the more esteemed, I am exceedingly comforted with the memory of yo^r gratius opinion of my sonne, w^{ch} in your gratius letters to me not long since you vouchsafed to expresse and with his owne most ioyfull acknowledgment of the continuance of yo^r most gratius fauour unto him. I will with my best gratefulnes ever acknowledg it; and with my soulls most earnest prayers howerly beseech god to requite it: and my sonne (I hope) will so behave himself towards yo^r Ma^{ti} for it, that you shall not only not mislike the grace already doon him, but hould him no lesse worthy by yo^r further grace to retaine after me those small offices w^{ch} during my life I hould, than any, who in this time of my sickness have unkindly sought to prevent him of them. Although I presently be not so strong as I may perfourm, yet I am the more bounden that I may not forgett to thinke of yo^r Ma^{ties} service in Wales. At yo^r counsell there you much want counsellors learned in the lawes: S^r Richard Shuttleworth upon whom the burden of yo^r service for law knowledg did ly, is by sickness of late much weakened, and not like to recover speedily: and therfore by his letters to the L. keeper & my self he hath desired for recovery of his health to haue his attendaunce for a time forborne. Of others the number is small, and (I speake it in duty to yo^r Ma^{ti}, not in mallice to any) the sufficiency not great. I have at large, and often advertized the L. keeper thereof, desiring him to make yo^r Ma^{ti} to supply this want by placing more. the buisines for the late doubted perill hath not left time to thinke hereof: god having freed yo^r Ma^{ti} from that, I most humbly beseech you vouchsafe to thinke of this: w^{ch} if not speedily prouided for will be to yo^r seruice very preiudiciale; and to yo^r subiects in that

parte very inconuenient. And so with my most humble duty I take my leauue.

At wilton this ninth of September, 1599.

Your Ma^{ties} most loyall subiect
and most humble seruant.

PEMBROKE.¹

L.

[Endorsed :]

19. Septembr: 1599
Erle of Pembroke to her
Ma^{ty}.

[Addressed :]

To the Queenes
most excellent Ma^{ty}.

For more than another year the old Earl held his own. Then, on January 5, 1601,² we find his eldest son writing to Sir Robert Cecil, 'this munday morning at 10 a clock.'

S^r You have given me so many testimonies of yo^r love that I will plainlye and absolutely put myself into yo^r hands. I was sent unto by a very frend of mine to come post to the court. & not to fayle of being there to wayte on tuesday at dinner, if I would not utterly loose the Queens fauor : a sentence of little more comfort then hanging : . . . Therefore, if euer you will express yo^r love, let me find it in this, for if I cannot obtaine her Ma^{ties} fauor to remaine with my Lo: in his weakenes, I shall quite overthrow my fortune. His Physition tells me he cannot live out this winter, nothing now supporting his body but his mind[;] so fond of my presence ;

¹ The original MS. of this letter, at the Public Record Office (*State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 272), shows the signature in the very lowest right-hand corner, just as Angel Day prescribes in his *English Secretorie* (*cf.* also pp. 113 *et seq.*) as the proper form for a letter of the utmost courtesy and respect.

² *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 75, fol. 104. *Holograph.* Endorsed, '5 Jan. 1600. Lord Herbert.'

that one day in my absence he gave away 1000 marks, & though to him to whom I can affoord anything, yet I could have bene contented to have had it left to mine own discretion. The sight of me only preuents many of the like. You see both the shelfs I am like to suffer Shipwrack on. . . .

This news is reinforced by a letter from Sir Robert Sidney to Sir Robert Cecil, written from Wilton, January 12, 1601.¹

Right Honourable.

I ame very much greeved to understand that her Ma: is offended wth my coming down hither. I heare also that it pleased your Ho: to aske for mee and to wish that I were at the Court w^{ch} makes mee to feare that her Ma: offence toward mee is the greater. If it would please her to consider the weake estate of the Erle of Pembroke. and what I ame to him. and how much I ame indebted unto him. I assure myself her Ma: would say that I ame bound to performe for him a far greater matter then this was. Neyether was I commanded to stay otherwise then did seem to bee a gracious care in her Ma: that I should not hurt myself by the iorney: . . . And now I ame stayd heer for twoe or three daies more thorow the weaknes of my lo: of Pembroke, w^{ch} I besech you to beleue from mee is very greate. It is trew hee eates euery meale abroad and hath looked upon all the sports this Christmas, (w^{ch} indeed were onely made to give him some kinde of contentment, . . .) and hath his memory and his senses as well as I have knownen them these many yeares. But for all that, I feare his frends shall not have him long, and when hee is gon I shall loose him. to whome of all men (my father and mine elder brother excepted) I have bin

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 180, fol. 2. *Holograph.*

most bound. . . . My lo: Harbert is bound in a stronger knot than I ame, and his estate the worse that hee is the more earnestly called for at the Court. . . . For if hee goe, how little so euer his stay bee, I doe not thincke hee will euer see his father alive againe. . . . At Wilton,
12 Jan. 1600. [1601, new style.]

On January 18, young Lord Herbert writes to thank Sir Robert Cecil for complying with the request of his previous letter, and says :¹

I do not think my lord can live 48 hours. He hath dealt as kindly with me as myself could desire; yet without her Majesty deal graciously with me, my state will prove very hard.

The Earl's death occurred at last on January 18 or 19, 1601. On the 19th Lord Herbert informs Sir Robt. Cecil :²

I am now at last fallen into your hands against my will. In the midst of my sorrows, I have taken the boldness to write unto her Majesty, whom if it please not to deal very graciously with me, I shall prove a poorer Earl then I was before a Lord. . . . Wilton, this 19 of January.

The implications of character in these letters are more than interesting. It is striking to note that Sir Robert Sidney expresses more genuine feeling for Lord Pembroke than the Earl's own son does. The tone of Lord Herbert's letters, moreover, is highly suggestive of what seems to

¹ *Salisbury MSS.*, vol. II, p. 13. (H.M.C. Reps. Calendar.)

² *Ibid.* p. 14. *Holograph.* Endorsed: '19 January, 1600. Old Earl of Pembroke dead.'

have been that young man's nature : self-centred and calculating in spite of his cleverness and his pleasing personality.

In a letter of February 3, 1601, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton :¹

The Erle of Pembroke died a fortnight since, leaving his lady as bare as he could, and bestowing all on the young lord, even to her jewells.

But the implications of this gossip are entirely contradicted by the Earl's will, which is still preserved at Somerset House.² Of this interesting document I quote and summarise a part, not only because it gives us an excellent impression of the Earl's relations with his wife and family, but because it shows also the extent of the family property and influence at the end of Elizabeth's reign. The will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, June 18, 1601. It is dated January 18, 1596 [new style], and begins as follows :

I Henry Earl of Pembroke calling to my remembraunce that all flesh naturallie is borne to die and depart [this] transitory life, the time place and manner thereof being uncertainte, and mynding and desiring therefore as far forth as maie stande with the pleasure of Almighty God, and as conveniently as I maie soe to settle and establish all my honors castles manor's etc. etc. in England or Wales, as that no question controversy ambiguity or doubts concerning the same, may arise after my decease make this my last will & testament.

¹ *Chamberlain's Letters*, Camden Soc. 1841, p. 100.

² 39 Woodhall (P.C.C.).

First I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God. As touchinge my bodie, I will [it] to the earth, from whence it came, to be buried in semely sorte, without anie sumptuous funerall or use of Heraldes, & that as speedily and privatelie as conueniently may be, at and in the Cathedral Church of Sarum in the Countie of Wiltes, and that there shall be erected over the place of my buriall a semelie meete and conveniente Tombe, fitt for my honor, degré and calling ; the which my buryall I will to be performed without anie blackes, more then for the Ladie Marie Countesse of Pembroke my wife, my children and servantes of househould. And further I will that for the space of eight and twenty daies after my deathe there shall be at the costes of myn executors hereafter named, hospitallitie kept and mainetained in the house wherin I shall happen to depart this present life, if yt be anie house of myne owne, and if not then in that house of myne that shall be next to the house or place where in I shall happen to decease, for the sayde Ladie Countesse of Pembroke my wife, my children and servautes in such semely and convenient sorte as shall be thought mete, by my said executors.

The will then proceeds to the disposition of the property :

After my debts paid, I bequeath to the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Wilton £100, to be delivered 28 days after my death, to be employed amongst poor clothiers 'as a stocke or meane to sett poore folckes in worke,' bonds for the proper imployment thereof to be taken 'of able persons' by my executors, until my heir is 21 years of age, & then of my son & the said mayor and corporation.

This is followed by several other charitable bequests ; then

I bequeath to the Lady Countess of Pembroke my wife the use of such of my plate jewels & household stuffs as shall come to the value of 3000 marks, *viz.* 1000 marks in plate[,] 1000 marks in jewels and 1000 marks in household stuff . . . she to have the occupation thereof for her natural life, if she live so long unmarried after my death ; on the condition that she shall with two sufficient sureties . . . become bound to my son William Lord Herbert, if he be then living, and to any two of the four persons hereafter named *viz.* Sir John Popham knight Lord Chief Justice of the Pleas, Sir Robert Sydney knight, Mathew Ewens one of the Barons of the Exchequer and Edward Dyer of Weston, Co. Somerset, . . . in the sum of 6000 marks for the safe redelivery thereof or their value, at my now dwelling house at Wilton . . . within 6 months after her decease or marriage. Of all other plate jewels & household stuff, I bequeath to the Countess my wife the use until some one heir male of my body shall after my death attain the age of 21 years, or if an heir female then at the age of 18 years if married, & if unmarried at the age of 21 years.

The will then provides further for Lady Pembroke :

I will that the said Lady Countess of Pembroke my wife shall have for term of her life, if she so long live sole and unmarried the use and occupation of my lease & term for years of Ivechurch *alias* Ivyrose, Co. Wilts & all my lands & tenements there, . . . the remainder of the said lease after her death or marriage to go to my next heir.

To Philip Herbert, the younger son, the Earl left 10,000 marks, with the usual legal provisos. To the Lady Anne, his daughter, £3000 to be paid at her full age of eighteen years, or day of marriage,

if she be then living ‘soe as she be married by and with the consent of the said Ladye Countesse of Pembroke my wife, if she be then livinge, and if nott then by the consente of the said Lord Herberete my sonne.’

Then follows an imposing enumeration of all the ‘estates of inheritance,’ beginning with the ‘dissolved monastery of Wilton, co. Wilts,’ and including Ramsbury in Wiltshire, Baynard’s Castle in London, and an enormous extent of manors, boroughs, and lordships in Wiltshire, and the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Devon, and Dorset. When the Queen had taken such ‘wardship, livery, and premier seisin as is her right by the laws of the realm,’ the rest of the income, as managed by the executors, was to be devoted ‘to the education of my children, & the payment of my debts and legacies,’ until William, the heir, should come of age.

The will concludes with one more provision for the ‘foresaid Ladye Marye my welbeloved wife’—that she should receive also, ‘for term of her life,’ Vyze, or Devizes Park, co. Wilts. The document is witnessed by W. Herbert, George Owen, Thomas Moffett, Henry Martyn, Arthur Massinger, H. Sanforde, and William Cooke.

A schedule of legacies ‘in behoof of my seruauntes’ is attached to the will. It is too long to quote in full. Arthur Massinger, however, receives £20 annuity; and ‘Doctor Moffett my

phisicion' for life an annuity of £100, 'provided that he continue his attendance & service upon the Lady Mary my wife and William Lord Herbert my son as hitherto he hath done on myself,' receiving from them reasonable allowance for 'his apothecaries stufe,' and for a livery gown yearly £20 at the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord.

A codicil to the will, dated January 18, 43 Eliz., which must have been the day before the Earl's death, increases the portion of the Lady Anne, provides that Devizes Park shall, after Lady Pembroke's death, go to Philip Herbert (who had surely been scantily remembered!), and finishes with this interesting passage :

And where by my said last will I have appointed, that the said Ladie Mary my wife shall give bande with sureties, for the restitution of certain plates [*sic*], jewels & household stufe . . . now my will is that the said Ladye Marye shall give none other bande, then her owne, for the true performance of the same and that noe further securitie in that behaulf, shall be by my executors of her demanded.

There is every indication, then, in the Earl's will, that he and his wife were on the most affectionate terms, and that Lord Pembroke had ample confidence in his wife's judgment. The arrangement by which Lady Pembroke was to give security for the personal property to be held by her during her lifetime was only what any careful, businesslike husband might make, and

the retraction of this provision in the codicil shows that if the old Earl had felt any distrust in 1596, it was removed five years later.

Another record of the Pembroke estates and possessions thirty years later, may be found in the record of the Inquisition taken at Salisbury, 24 September, 6 Charles I [1630], by a commission appointed for that purpose after the death of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.¹ Here we find a long list of lands, including the 'borough and castle of Cardyffe,' 'all which lands the Lady *Mary*, Countess of Pembroke, widow of the said *Henry*, Earl of Pembroke, after the death of the same *Henry* held for her life in satisfaction of her dower.'

There seems no doubt, then, that Lady Pembroke was amply provided for after her husband's death, and that the gossip of John Chamberlain was quite without foundation.

¹ THE INDEX LIBRARY: *Wiltshire Inquisitiones Post Mortem, Charles I.* British Record Society, vol. 23, London, 1901. *William, Earl of Pembroke*, pp. 97-101.

CHAPTER III

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE (1601-1621)

LADY PEMBROKE, left a widow at the age of forty, survived her husband twenty years. Of this last period, we have no more actual knowledge than may be gained from a few of her own letters, from one or two records of business transactions in which she was interested, and from notes of her occasional appearances at Court. We may infer, however, that she led a busy and useful, though quiet life. She must have taken an important, if not a controlling part in the administration of the Pembroke estate, at any rate of a large portion of it, as we realise from her letters to Sir Julius Cæsar and to Sir Robert Cecil, quoted in this chapter.

It seems unlikely that Lady Pembroke could have had much happiness in her sons. Of the two boys, William seems to have been superior, both in intellect and in personal charm. Yet his irrepressible spirits and questionable morals must

have cost his mother many an anxious pang. It was apparently some time before he could be trusted to take seriously the duties of his rank and position. Before the old Earl's death, the discreet Rowland Whyte complains repeatedly to Sir Robert Sidney of his nephew's 'cold and weake maner of pursuing her Ma^{ties} fauor.'¹ Lord Herbert also manifested a very young man's ardour for the prospect of war, and its martial accompaniments. During the preparations for the expected Spanish invasion in 1599, R. Whyte tells his master :²

My lord Harbert means to follow the camp and bids me write unto you that if yourself come not ouer, he meanes to make bold with you and send for *Bayleigh* to Penshurst, to serue upon. Yf you haue any armor or pistols, that may stede him for himself only, he desires he may haue the use of them till your own return. Nonsuch, 4 August, 1599.

Later he adds :³

My lord Harbert is to haue 200 horse sent up by his father to attend her majesties person. He sent to my lady to borow *Bayleigh*. She returned this answer that he shall haue it, but condicionally, that if you come ouer or send for yt to Flushing, he may restore yt, which he agrees unto. Nonsuch, Saturday 11 of August, 1599.

And on the 18th of August :⁴

My lord Harbert hath bene away from Court these

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 122.

² *Ibid.* p. 113. *Bayleigh* was a horse.

³ Collins, vol. 2, p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 118.

7 daies in London swagering yt amongst the men of warre and viewing the maner of the musters.¹

By the next year, however, Rowland Whyte seems to have been considerably propitiated, for he writes, again from Nonsuch, on August 8, 1600 :²

My lord Harbert is very well thought of, and keapes company with the best and grauest in Court, and is well thought of amongst them.

On October 18, 1600, he says :³

My lord Harbert will be all the next weeke at Greenwich to practice at tilt. He often wishes you here. Beleue me, my lord, he is a very gallant gentleman, and indeed wants such a frend as you are neare unto him.

On October 30 we learn that⁴

My lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich . . . ; he leapes, he dawnces, he sings, he giues counterbuffes, he makes his horse runne with more speede ; he thanckes me, and meanes to be exceeding merry with you this winter in baynard's castell.

His father's death and his own consequent increase of responsibility should have sobered the young man. In view of his tendencies, however, we may understand the maternal solicitude of the following letter from Lady Pembroke

¹ Written from Nonsuch, where the Court was being held. Dated ' Saturday noone, 18 August, 1599.'

² Collins, vol. 2, p. 209. See also p. 144.

³ *Ibid.* p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 220.

to the Queen.¹ This must have been written very shortly before the Earl's death.

Most sacred Soueraigne

Pardon I humbly beseech yow this first boldnes of y^r humblest creature and lett it please that deuine goodnes w^h can thus enlieue & comfort my life to vouchsafe to know that not presumption, o no, but the vehement working desire of a thankfull harte to so acknowlidg it selfe for so hygh & pretious a fauor receued hath guided my trembling hand to offer these worthless wordes to y^r exelent eies ; wherein I woold, if any wordes coold, present a thankfullness unexpressible ; not onely for my selfe but for my sonn who of y^r Ma^{ty}: euer Prinsly grace yow ar pleased to take into yr care, to fasshen fitt to liue in yr sight, to add & supply whatsoeuer want or defect may be in him, for w^h both my Ld & I do humble ourselves at yr hyghnes feete. And for myne owne part remembryng (what is of deerest memory) how in my youngest times my selfe was graced by the same heauenly grace, the same sunn w^h euer more hath powre to perfite the greatest imperfection, giue me leue, humbly I beseech y^r Ma^{ty}, to unfold my comfort, hitherto wth held in the prison of my hart, & now euer with teares of Joy thus to powre foorth my Joyfullness finding that unspeakable goodnes so begun in me thus continued in myne ? What shoold I say, or what can wordes say for me but that I, who, by a more particuler bond, was borne & bred, more, yr Ma^{ty} then any other creature & do, I protest, desire to liue but to serue and obserue yow, do know that he participating of the same sprite must lykewise make that his life, his end, his sole care & desire, to w^h endeauour I do as gladly leue him & giue him as euer I was made mother of him ; And accordingly am

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Countess of Pembroke to the Queen, 1601 (no other date). Holograph.*

to take comfort in him as he shall be blessed in yr gratiouse
sight & frame him selfe wholy to please & serue yr most
Exelent Maty to whom all blessednes belongeth; &
blessed indeed ar they that may behold yow. My pen
hath now hitt uppon my part of torment, that I doo not,
and yet still doo behold yow with the humblest eies of
my mynds loue & admiration. I againe and againe in
all reuerent humblenes begg pardon for this fearfull
boldnes, do end with my neuer ending praiers. Long, long
may that purest light liue, & shine to his euer liuing
praise & glory who hath made your Ma^{ty} this worlds
wonder and Englands bliss.

Yr hyghnes

most bound

the humblest of yr: creturs

M. PEMBROKE.

[Addressed :]

To the Queenes most
Excellent Ma^{ty}:

[Endorsed, in another hand :]

1601

Countess of Pembroke
to her Ma^{ty}:

This letter was evidently written upon the occasion of Lord Herbert's being first formally invited to become a courtier—an undoubted indication of the Queen's favour. The conventions of the time probably justified a letter, the tone of which seems to us now excessively servile and unpleasant. It is interesting to compare Lady Pembroke's style here with that of her business correspondence.

Another series of events much more unpleasant, in which the young Earl of Pembroke was involved, may be traced in certain contemporary letters

and State Papers. Early in the year 1601 his intrigue with Mary Fitton became known. The earliest notice of this occurs in a letter from Sir Robert Cecil, writing at Court on the 5th of February 1600-01, to Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster.¹

We haue no newes but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistris Fitton, for she is proued with chyld, and the E. of Pembroke beinge examyned confesseth a ffact but utterly renounceth all marriage. I feare they will both dwell in the Tower awhyle, for the Queen hath vowed to send them therethere.

The same facts may be found even more briefly and bluntly mentioned in a letter written by Sir Tobie Mathew to Dudley Carleton, from Gray's Inn, March 25, 1601.²

The Earle of Pembroke is committed to the fleet ; his cause is deliuered of a boy who is dead. . . .

On May 18, 1601, Sir Edward Fitton, the father of Mary Fitton, writes from Stanmore to Sir Robert Cecil :³

Right honorable hr [here] enclosed are diuers exiñs [examinations] sent to me as maor [Mayor] of Maxfield [Macclesfield] and come to me to Stamer [Stanmore] in the night, where I was inforseed to abyd by reason of my

¹ *Letters of Sir Robert Cecil*, Camden Society, vol. 88, p. 65.

² *State Papers Dom., Eliz.* 1600-1601.

³ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 86, fol. 50. *Holograph.* Endorsed : '1601. With sundry examinations sent him from Macclesfield concerning certain lewd speeches uttered by one Richard Teylbye.'

daughter weakenes. . . . I canne say nothinge of the Erle [of Pembroke] but my daughter is confydent in her cleame before god. and wishes my Lo and she might but meet before indifferent hearers. but for myself, I expect no good from hym that in all this tyme hathe not showed any kindness, I count my daughter as good a gentlewoman as my Lord, though the dignity of honor be greater onlye in him w^{ch} hath beguiled her, I feare, except my Lo^s honesty bee the greater vertues.

In justice to the memory of Mistress Fitton, the reader should turn to Lady Newdegate's 'Gossip from a Muniment Room.'¹ This clever and interesting *recueil* of ancient documents gives the Fittons' side of a story which retains its human interest in spite of the passage of long years.

The Queen's punishment of Lord Pembroke seems to have consisted, finally, in banishment from Court to the country. How this youthful Earl supported the situation and his disgrace, may be learned entirely from his own words. Among the manuscripts at Hatfield House, we find a series of letters from Lord Pembroke to his most powerful friend at Court, Sir Robert Cecil. In their order, and quoted wholly or partly, they are as follows :

S^r,

the Imposition you layd upon me for my wardship, though it be a very heauy burthen on my weake meanes, hauing so many greate payments to make besides ; yet since it is her Ma^{tie} pleasure, I will not dispute

¹ D. Nutt, London, 1898.

it, but wholy submitt myself to her sacred will. I thinke myself much faoured by her Ma^{tie}, that it would please her to giue me leaue to goe abroad to follow mine owne busines: but I cannot forbeare telling of you that yet I endure a very grieuous Imprisonment & so (though not in the worlds misiudging opinion) yet in my self I feele still the same or a wors punishment. For doe you account him a freeman that is restrained from coming where he most desires to be, and debar'd from enjoying that comfort in respect of w^{ch} all other earthly ioyes seemes miseries, though he have a whole world els to walk in? In this vile case am I, whose miserable fortune it is, to be banished from the sight of her, in whose fauour the ballance consisted of my misery or happines, & whose incomparable beautie was the onely sonne of my little world, that alone had power to give it life & heate. Now iudg you whether this be a bondage or no: for mine owne part, I protest I think my fortune as slauish as any mans that liues fettered in a galley. you have sayd you loued me & I haue often found it, but a greater testimony you can neuer shew of it than to use yo^r best meanes to ridd me out of this hell, & then shall I account you the restorer of that w^{ch} was farre dearer unto me then my life . . . Baynards Castle this 19th of iune. [1601.]¹

Could the worthy R. Whyte have read this letter, he would assuredly never have complained again of the young man's lack of address as a courtier. The flattering lines failed of their purpose, however, for two months later (August 13, 1601) Lord Pembroke writes again to Sir Robert Cecil, this time from the country:²

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 86, fol. 108. *Holograph.*

² *Ibid.* vol. 87, fol. 95. *Holograph.*

S^r, I have not yet bene a day in the country & I am as weary of it as if I had bene prisoner there seaven yere. I see I shall neuer turn good Justice of peace. Therfore I pray if the Queen determine to continue my banishment, & preferr sweet S^r Edward [Fitton] before me, that you will assist me *with your* best meanes to gett leauue to goe into some other land, that the change of the Climate may purge me of Melancholie, for els I shall neuer be fitt for any civill society. I have written sorrowfully complaining to my Lo: Admirall that he will be pleased to moue my sute againe, since there is no appearance of Grace. The pattent of the forrest of Deane could not so speedily be gotten before my going out of towne, but very shortly Arthur Massinger shall attend you *with* it, though there be so much past under generall terms that I feare me it will seeme somewhat slight. let me still haue the happiness to be beloued by you & I will constantly remaine

Yor most affectionate frend to be Comaunded
PEMBROKE.

The ‘ patent of the forest of Dean ’ evidently refers to some recompense that was to be made to the Fitton family. A later letter makes this clearer.

A longer stay in the country makes no change in the Earl’s distaste for country life. On August 26, 1601, he writes from Wilton to Cecil :¹

... If the Queene continue her displeasure a little longer, undoubtedly I shall turn clowne, for Justice of peace I can by no meanes frame unto, & one of the two a man that liues in the country must needs be. if you

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers*, vol. 87, fol. 141. *Holograph.*

meane to have a gamster of me, you were best by some meanes to gett me from hence ; for here there is no game knowne but trump, primero is held a coniuring word. Pray S^r, if I write idly pardon me for I have as little to doe as many man liuing. . . .

The next letter designates the amends which were to be made to Sir Edward Fitton. It is written to Cecil from Ramsbury, September 2, [1601].¹

S^r, what loue & thankfullnes you could haue expected from me if I had preuayled, the same to to [sic] the best of my power you shall find me ready ready [sic] to per forme on all occasions now I am disgraced. Her Ma^{tie}, as I heard when she promised Mr Mumpersons a park, after my Lo: your fathers death, when she knew how neerely it concern'd my L: Burleygh in honor, recalled her promise, preserued my L: honor, & graciously satisfyed her seruant an other way. If it had pleased her Ma^{tie} as graciously to have conceaued, in this matter of the forrest of Deane, of that poore reputation I was desirous to preserue, the maintenance whereof might have enabled to doe her Ma^{tie} more honor & seruice then now I am able to performe, I should have bene happy & S^r Edward [Fitton] might an other way as well have bene satisfyed. But since her Ma^{tie} hath in her wisedome thought fitt to lay this disgrace upon me ; I accuse nothing but mine owne unworthines, which since I so plainly read in mine owne fortunes I will alter my hopes, & teach them to propose unto them selues no other ends then such as they shall be sure to receaue no disgrace in. The haulk that is once canuast will the next time take heede of the nett. & shall I that was borne a man & capable of reason,

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers, vol. 87, fol. 162. Holograph.*

committ greater folly then byrds that have nougnt but
sence to direct them? If her Ma^{tie} make this the
returning way for her fauor, though it be like the way of
saluation narrow & crooked. yet my hopes dare not
trauell thorough the ruggednes of it, for they stumble
so often, that before they come half way they despaire
of passing such difficulties. There be some things yet
in her Ma^{tie} hands to dispose of, *which* if it would pleas
her to grace me *with* might happily in some measure,
patch up my disgraces in the opinion of the world. But
I haue vowed neuer againe to be a sutor, since in my
first sute I have receaued such a blow. I should be
infinitely bound unto you if you could but gett a promise,
that I should have leauue to trauell after the Parliament:
it would make me more able to doe her Ma^{tie} & my
cuntry seruice. & lessen if not wipe out the memory of
my disgraces.

Two other urgent notes to the Chief Secretary
follow. They were written most probably in
October of the same year.¹

S^r, you have often promised me yo^r best furtherance,
& I haue euer found it in what I desired: this makes me
now presume that I shall still receaue the like measure
of kindness from you. I haue written to my Lo: Admirall
to be ernest wth her Ma^{tie} for my leauue to trauell I
make no doubt but his Lp will deale effectually in it
for me: yet I beseech you let me have yo^r best assistance.
when the Parliament is ended, her Ma^{tie} will haue no
employment for me, therfore I beleue the sute will not
be difficult. I hope her Ma^{tie} will not so farre extend
her anger towards me, as, hauing her self no use for me,
she will confine me to a cuntry now most hatefull to me
of all others, when my trauell will enable me to doe her

¹ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 183, fol. 119. *Holograph.*

Ma^{tie} better seruice. I beseech you fayle me not in this & I will euer continue

most affectionate to
doe you seruice

PEMBROKE.

Again he urges :¹

Sr,

yesternight I receaued a message from my Lo: Admirall by my uncle, that when his Lo^p moued the Queene for me, she sayd she would haue me goe keepe hous in the cuntry, how unfitt this cours will be for me I will not now use any reasons to that purpose, becaus I am sure you are sufficiently satisfied in it. onely this good I have now gotten, that I plainly perceave that her Ma^{tie} still continues in her wonted displeasure towards me, for when she was in the height of her anger, her answer was the very same, & now will no more flatter myself *with* any blind hopes how faire soeuer they appeere. my ernest request unto you is that all motions for me but for my trauell may not so much as be remembered. When I last spake *with* you, you made no doubt of obtaining my leaue. I beseech you still be ernest in it & then my self will as little do of the obtaining. you shall make an unfortunate man very happy. & enforce him to acknowledg all his happines to come from you, & for it euer to remaine

Yor most affectionate frend to be commaunded

PEMBROKE.

At last, later in the same year, 1601, the permission was obtained. We do not know where the young Earl went, however, nor what was the

¹ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 183, fol. 120. *Holograph*. - Undated.
Endorsed : ' 1601.'

length of his stay. He writes once more to the Chief Secretary :¹

I know not how to be sufficiently thankfull for so great a fauour bestowed on me, in getting the Queens consent for my going beyound the seas, but you may assure yourself that while I liue I will euer remaine wholly deuoted to do you seruice. I beseech you while her Ma^{tie} is in this good disposition, you will giue order to Mr Lake to draw my licence, and procure her Ma^{tie} gracious hand, and then you shall be deliuered from an importunate sutor that often trubled you with many idle businesses.

No comment is needed to emphasise the selfish, childish, and sulky tone of these communications. One may be pardoned for suggesting, as a possible significant fact, that, since no letters remain from Lady Pembroke to Lord Cecil on this subject, she wrote none as an advocate for her son in this matter. The wisest course for a mother would undoubtedly have been to let the youth take his medicine, in spite of its distastefulness.

The next three letters from Lady Pembroke, two to Sir Julius Cæsar, and one to Sir Robert Cecil, now Secretary of State, are interesting as showing us both her own responsibilities and some of the characteristic difficulties and resources of a wealthy family of the period. The first

¹ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 90, fol. 146. *Holograph. Undated.*
Endorsed : 'Earl of Pembroke, 1601.'

one is addressed to 'the right honorable S^r Ro:
Cecyll.'¹

S^r. Not that I can make any retorne unto yow worthey of yow; but that this blanke may witness what I woold had I powre to expres more then words can. A mynd more then thankefull, & a thankfullnes answerable to that mynd w^h: thus in paper for me (since otherwise it can not present the willing desire to pay the debtt it owes) doth onely apeere before yow. It may please yow to except of the dumbe shew till with that entrest diue [? interest due] better performance may folowe of what belongs unto youw. This frendly favore; the honor, queit & strengthe yow have given me I well may say is of such auaile in consideration of the place and condission of this people as I had no reason to expect nor to hope after: so hath it coucht them all y^r: honorable address heerein, it is wonder to see the change.

It might seeme strange to me to haue to contest with such, in such a kind before yow. But more strange to haue the matter so aprehended, so extarordnarely righted onely by yow. finding by Jhon Udales relation indeed admiration, how in this too unworthey ocation (I protest I am owt of countenance to thinke you shouold be once mooud in, much more knowing how farr encumbered withall) myselfe neuertheless so exceedingly graced as that the want of thos frends of myne long since lost hath bin with full effectuall care & most praiseworthey merrit in your selfe to the uttermost supplied. For w^h, & all, it is all I can endeuer to deserue, what undeseruedly in so great measure receued from yow. And so must your owne worthey disposission, thus Nobly expressed to me ward, remaine unanswered unsatisfied but in it selfe; w^h as yr: selfe doth make yow

¹ *Salisbury MSS., Cecil Papers, Aug. 3, 1602. Countess of Pembroke to Sir Robt. Cecil. Holograph.*

knowne & honord accordingly. Now for this sedisious beggerly wretche whom it pleaseid yow to bring downe under my mercy & now seemes most penetent, I must confess it were no conquest his utter ruein & yet thinke it not fitt to take his present submission to retorne him to be disposed of according to yr will, if please yow in regard of his missery to be released of his imprisonment. The other his barbarus demeanur hath bin so odious & therein so obstinate as this hand may in no reason consent to become any meane for his release till by a more thorow fealing of his fowle offence others lykewise will be better tought by his smart if so it may be agreeable to your owne best Judgment to w^h I very willingly & most thankfully doo submitt both myselfe & them. And wisshing unto yow Eternall happenes sease your further troble

By her whom yow haue
bound euermore to
acknowlidg the bond

M. PEMBROKE.

Cardiff castell this
3 of August, 1602.

A clue to the persons here mentioned probably exists in the following note preserved among the Hatfield MSS. for the same year, 1602 (no other date).¹

Cardiff. 1602. Objections against Morgan Williams, one of the bailiffs, and Roger Spencer, Recorder of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke's Town of Cardiff. Details of their dangerous practice of innovation of Court ; the contempt with which they have received the Earl's letters ; and violences committed : the walls under the castle having been pulled down, the locks of

¹ *Calendar of the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield, Historical MSS. Commission, 1910, vol. 12, pp. 576-7.*

her Ladyship's private walks torn off, her men arrested, and her household servants beaten in at her gates, sore wounded.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Lady Pembroke held the borough and castle of Cardiff for life, in satisfaction of her dower. The difficulties of administration for a woman alone are evident. Yet Lady Pembroke seems to have risen to the occasion, and we must admire the judicial tone with which she debates a proper punishment for the rebellious bailiffs. In the next two letters to Sir Julius Cæsar¹ we find her concerned with a local administrative difficulty, presumably in Wiltshire.

Sr. to make good unto his maiestie, the reasons and truth, that I haue apprehended and iustlie accepted against mathew.² I haue to their great charge, as standinge ingadged upon myne honor, unto his highnes, mather to bee the very author, of soe foule an indignitie offred. as also to make good to the whole worlde, I would not possesse his princely eares with any untruth. I haue I say to their great trouble and charge, brought upp those soe sufficient, and honest men, and of good reputation as will directlie upon their oathes depose the truth. I haue tendred them, to the Lord Wotton. whose answere is. the matter is past their hands. I will not say a strange answere unto mee. but soe farr from my expectation, as the miracle hath brought a

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS. 12503, fol. 150. Signed.*

² I have been unable to find any other account of this obscure personage. The *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of MSS.* gives his name (in square brackets) as *Edward Mathew*. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives, however, no account of him.

strange Intelligence to mee. Soe as nowe. I ame left onlie unto you. that you will for my sake, and at my earnest request, for a thorowe satisfaction of his highnes, to take these men sworne. and that by your honorable meanes, at least it may remayne upon record. Untill aptlie you may possesse, his maestie, with the truth. soe as the sooner, you shall doe it, the sooner you shall make mee infinitelie beholdinge unto you. as an argument of the true feeling you hold of myne honor heerin whereof I ame but to full. And so restinge

Your euer thankfull and most
assuered frend

M. PEMBROKE.

Winsor this fowerth of July 1603.

[Addressed :]	[Endorsed, in another hand :]
To my honorable good frend Sr. Julius Cesar knight. geue these.	4 July 1603 The Countess of Pembroke touching Mathew etc.

This is followed in four days by another indignant letter¹ on the same subject:

Sir. I thank you, for your great paynes and kindnes, in this troublesome busines of myne. the which I assure you, I will not nor cannott forgett. and nowe I ame further to pray you. to acquaint his highnes, that you find, I did nothinge maliciously against mathew. which I hope is proued before you. and of the effect of that prooff. which is against him, I pray you enforme his matie or otherwise I shall not bee righted. according to the truth and my expectation. thus euer restinge most thankfull unto you, I bidd you hartelie farewell.
Burnam, this viith
of July, 1603.

My trust is onely in you now lett me craue your

Brit. Mus. MS. 12503, fol. 151-2. Holograph postscript.

thorow frendly proceeding tuching this fowl abuce that his Ma^{tie} may justly conceiue the unworthines of that bace Mathew so as he may not receue any grace here, nor hold the place of a Justice in the contrey. haueing so aparently transgressed therein. it is the Sister of Sir Ph: Sidney who yow are to right & who will worthely deserue the same.

Yr affectionat
frend.

M. PEMBROKE.

[Addressed :]

To my honorable good
frend Sr. Julius Cesar
knight. master of his
highnes requestes geue
these.

[Endorsed, in another hand :]

8 July 1603
The Countess of Pem-
broke touching Mathew
etc.

It will be noticed that the first of these letters is dated at Windsor. There, on July 2, 1603, the King celebrated the Feast of St. George. The young Prince was, at this celebration, installed a Knight of the Garter ; and along with him four young noblemen, one of whom was William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. At the celebration were present many great ladies, among them 'the Countesse of Pembroke and her daughter.'¹ Here, apparently, is a reference to the Lady Anne, and this is the last mention of her that I have found. Her death must have occurred shortly afterwards. According to one authority² she is buried at Cambridge.

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of Jas. I* (ed. of 1828), vol. 1, pp. 193-5.

² Articles by H. T. R., *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1845. See Bibliography.

On October 6, 1603, the King and Queen were at Wilton, where they seem to have made a prolonged visit.¹ We know no more, however, about it.

In 1603 a marriage was projected between the Earl of Pembroke and Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. This marriage took place on November 4, 1604.² Edmund Lodge, who had access to the Talbot MSS.,³ then at the Heralds' College, published in his 'Illustrations of British History' (1838, vol. 3) many letters relating to this marriage and to the life of the

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of Jas. I* (ed. of 1828), vol. i, p. 281.

² Doyle's *Baronage*, art. *Pembroke*, vol. 3.

³ The following letters, in the Talbot collection, relating to this marriage were unpublished by Lodge :

Oxford, Aug. 29, 1603 : Earl of Pembroke to Earl of Shrewsbury. Compliments and family trifles.

*Winchester, Oct. 10, 1603
Nov. 27, 1603* : Sir Thos. Edmunds to Earl of Shrewsbury. Arguments in favor of match proposed between the Earl of Pembroke and the Lady Mary, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Sheffield, Nov. 6, 1603 : Long detail of circumstances in the treaty of marriage between the Earl of Pembroke and Lady Mary Talbot, signed 'Gilbert Shrewsbury.'

Hampton Court, Jan. 23, 1603 : Sir Thos. Edmunds to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Of the Earl of Pembroke's offer of marriage before mentioned. The Earl of Pembroke's objections to certain terms proposed by the Earl of Shrewsbury with regard to the Lady Mary's portion.

The next item is also interesting.

On Tuesday (? April. ? May) 1604, Philip Gawdy writes to his brother, Bassingbourne Gawdy : 'My lorde of Pembroke is married to my Lorde of Shrewsbury's eldest daughter, and she shall haue 3000L lande.' (MSS. of G. E. Frere, Esq., *Hist. MSS. Com. Reps.*, vol. 7, p. 526 b.)

young couple immediately afterwards. Aubrey¹ gives the following account of the wedding festivities :

Tilting was much used at Wilton in the times of Henry Earle of Pembroke and Sir Philip Sydney. At the solemnization of William, the second Earle of Pembroke, to one of the co-heires of the Earle of Shrewsbury, here was an extraordinary shew ; at which time a great many of the nobility and gentry exercised, and they had shields of pastboard painted with their devices and emblemes, which were very pretty and ingenious. There are some of them hanging in some houses at Wilton to this day, but I did remember many more. Most or all of them had relation to marriage. One, I remember, is a man standing by a river's side angling, and takes up a rammeshorne : the motto *Casus ubique valet.* (*Ovid de Arte Amandi.*) Another hath the picture of a ship at sea sinking in a storm, and a house on fire ; the motto *Tertia pestis abest* ; meaning a wife. Another, a shield covered with black velvet ; the motto *Par nulla figura dolori.* This last is in the Arcadia, and I believe they were most of them contrived by Sir Philip Sydney. Another was a hawke lett off the hand, with her leashes hanging at her legges, which might hang her where 'ere she pitcht, and is an embleme of youth that is apt to be ensnared by their own too plentifull estates.

Aubrey's inaccuracies are, of course, more than obvious. William was the third and not the second Earl of Pembroke, and neither his father nor his uncle Philip was living at the time of his marriage. Aubrey's description of the 'emblemes'

¹ Wiltshire, *op. cit.* p. 88.

is interesting, however, and some of it so circumstantial that it may be correct.

Of the younger brother Philip, afterwards fourth Earl of Pembroke, we know much less, but that little is unprepossessing. His 'forwardness' as a courtier was mentioned by Rowland Whyte as early as 1600,¹ and this same quality possibly contributed to his clandestine betrothal with his first wife, Lady Susan Vere. The young Earl of Pembroke writing in 1604 to his father-in-law, the Earl of Shrewsbury, thus describes his brother's match:²

My Lord,—Though I had no direct messenger to send unto your lordship, I rather chose to write by post than leave you unadvised of that which is as joyful unto me as anything that ever fell out since my birth. I cannot now write unto you all the circumstances, but at my coming down your lordship shall know as much as myself. The matter in brief is that, after long love, and many changes, my brother on Friday last was privately contracted to my lady Susan³ without the knowledge of any of his or her friends. On Saturday she acquainted her uncle with it, and he me. My lord of Cranborne seemed to be much troubled at it, at first, but yesterday the King, taking the whole matter on himself, made peace on all sides.

PEMBROKE.

Hampton Court, this 16th of October, 1604.

¹ Collins, vol. 2, p. 190.

² E. Lodge: *Illustrations of British History*, vol. 3, pp. 100-101.

³ Daughter of Edw. de Vere, Earl of Oxford, by a daughter of the late Lord Burghley.

A little more than two months later, Sir Thomas Edmunds writes to Lord Shrewsbury from the Court at Whitehall, December 28, 1604 :¹

The marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan was yesterday solemnized with great honour, the King and Queen assisting to the same in the chapel. She was led to the chapel by the Prince and Duke of Holst, and brought back by the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Admiral, and she was given by the King ; the Court great in number of Lords and Ladies, and both sorts magnificent in bravery. The charge of the gloves and garters given esteemed to amount to well near 1000 l. ; but the same well recompensed in the presents of plate, which were given to a great value. His grant is passed unto him for his 1200 l. land, and it is expected that ere it be long the King will also bestow some dignity on him.

Osborne's gossip is of course negligible as historical evidence. What he says is interesting, however, if not reliable ;² I give it for what it is worth :

Wherefore I shall take my first rise from him that was then Philip Herbert, since Earle of Montgomery, a man carressed by King James for his hansom face, which kept him not long company, leaving little behind it so acceptable as to render him fit society for anybody but himselfe, and such bookes as posterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his understanding to a more candid proceeding then he used at Oxford, where he exercised greater

¹ Lodge, *op. cit.* vol. 3, p. 119.

² Francis Osborne : *Memoyres*, part ii. pp. 70-77 *passim*.

passion against learning, that had by teaching books to speak English indeavoured to make him wise, than he did towards Ramsy who by switching him on the face at Croydon, rendered him ridiculous : It was at a Horse-race where many both Scotch and English met ; the latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a resolution to make it a Nationall Quarrell, . . . But Herbert not offering to strike againe, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a Gentleman ; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, and an Earle in one day. . . .

I have been told that the Mother of Herbert tore her haire at the report of her Son's dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ransomed her own repute, if she had not redeemed her Countries. She was that Sister of Sir Philip Sidney to whom he addressed his *Arcadia*, And of whom he had no other advantage than what he received from that partiall benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man ; which yet she did in some Judgments, recompense in beauty ; Her Pen being nothing short of his, As I am ready to attest, as far as so inferiour a Reason may be taken having seene incomparable Letters of hers.

It seems but fair to add here the description of the Earl of Montgomery, written by his second wife, Lady Anne Clifford. If not more favourable, it is at any rate more judicial.

This 2nd L^d of mine [Philip Herbert.] was born a 2nd son the 10. of Oct. in 1584, in his father Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke's house at Wilton, in Wiltshire which was once a nunnery, his Mother was Mary Sidney only daughter to S^r Henry Sidney & only sister to the renowned S^r Philip Sidney, he was no Scholar at

all to speak of for he was not past 3 or 4 months at the University of Oxford being taken away from thence by his friends, presently after his Fathers death in Q. Elizabeth's time at the latter end of her reign to follow the Court as judging himself fitt for that kind of life when he was not passing 15 or 16 years old, yet he was of a very quick Apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, & of a discerning Spirit, but extreamly choleric by Nature, which was increased the more by the office of L^d Chamberlain to the King which he held many years, he was never out of England but some 2 months when he went into france with other Lords in the year 1625. to attend Q. Mary at her 1st coming over into England to be Marryed to K. Charles her husband[.] he was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England in all respects, & was generally throughout the realm very well beloved¹

Those who are sufficiently curious may follow the later career of this lord, after he became Earl upon his brother's death in 1630.² I shall return, however, to the pleasanter task of tracing his mother's life during her later years.

One other business letter from Lady Pembroke is preserved among the Hatfield House MSS.³ It is addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, by this time Earl of Salisbury, and is a request for a gift of the

¹ Autobiog. of Anne, Co. Dowager of Dorsett, Pembroke and Montgomery, wrote by herself. *Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6177*, fol. 68^r. See also note following.

² *MSS. of Lord Hothfield, Hist. MSS. Com. Reps.*, vol. II, pt. vii. p. 90. See also article *Philip Herbert, &c.*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; and the *Comte de Tillières'* description of him, quoted in Doyle's *Baronage*.

³ *Cecil Papers, Holograph*, July 27, 1607.

wardship of a youth, according to the arrangement which was then legal and which had survived from the feudal system.

My Lord

I was once so rude as to mooue yr Lpe for the wardshipe of S^r: Jhon Gennings sunn who now as I am enformed is very lyke to bee in yr: guift if all-redy hee bee not. I was then told yow were pleased to fauore mee so much as that no other shouold haue the graunt thereof; & so that myselfe might hope, if the father died, I was lyke enough to receue so great an inlargment of my bond unto yow. I doo now, as I did then, blush to putt yr Lpe: in mynd that such a thinge there was: & so doo leue my selfe & the matter to yr euer Noble & fauorable Judgment. Wissing you euerlasting honore & all happenes to whom I rest

According to my long
unfained profession

M. PEMBROKE.

Ditchlye this 27th of
July, 1607

[Endorsed :]

August.

[Addressed :] To the Rt. Hon. My L. the Earle of
Salsbury these.

A few more records, and the three ensuing letters to Sir Tobie Mathew (printed in 1660 and apparently authentic), are all that is left to suggest the last decade of Lady Pembroke's life. The Royal Progresses and the State Papers give occasional notes of facts relating to her external life. 'From 1609 to 1615, she had rented from Lord Northampton, the old palace of Crosby

Hall in the City of London. Lady Pembroke was, in 1615, granted the royal manor of Houghton Conquest, near Amthill in Bedfordshire, by James I.¹ Aubrey says:²

She built there a curious house in Bedfordshire, called Houghton Lodge, neer Amthill. The architects were sent for from Italie. It is built according to the description of Basilius' house in the first booke of the *Arcadia*. . . . It is most pleasantly situated and hath fower vistos', each prospect 25 or 30 miles. . . . The house did cost 10,000 li. the building.³

In a letter from Sir George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, written during October 1616, we learn that 'The Countesse Dowgere of Pembroke, who hathe beene allmost three yeres at the Spaw and in France for the repayringe of her healthe, is, in this October, retourned with muche amendment of the same.'⁴ This is corroborated by an entry in the State Papers for the same date.⁵ It is evident from the internal references that the

¹ Philip Sidney: *The Subject of all Verse*, 1907, pp. 30-31. This author gives no source for this statement.

² Aubrey: *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, 1898, vol. 1, p. 312.

³ A letter from 'James R.' to the Earl of Middlesex, Greenwich, May 21, 1623, tells of a grant of lands to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, for life. The Countess built two new lodges and then died. *Sackville MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. Reps.*, vol. 7, p. 250 b.

There seems to be little authority in Nichols' *Progresses of Jas. I* for Mr. Philip Sidney's statement (*op. cit. supra*) that James I visited Lady Pembroke at Houghton Lodge. (See Nichols, ed. cit. vol. 1, p. 521 note.)

⁴ *Letters of George Lord Carew*, Camden Society, vol. 76, p. 51.

⁵ *State Papers Dom., Jas. I*, 1611-18, p. 427.

following letters¹ were written soon after her return. They are the most notably 'literary' of all her surviving correspondence, and were first published as models of letter-writing.

A Letter of the late Countess of Pembroke to an humble Servant of hers by way of excuse, for being so unable to make him happy.

Sir,

The first work I haue to doe, is to repair an inexcusable errorr ; for my former Letter to you was no sooner out of my hands, than I was ashamed of my ill-fortune, in that I might seem to haue forgotten your Other-self. I say that I might seem ; for I haue witnesses enow that I committed not the sinne, indeed. And now that I haue receiued those idle Papers, which you are pleased not to despise for my sake, you shall know that it contents me nothing that restitution is now made to me by anie other hands than wherein I left them. I doubt not but you belieue that I would haue commanded them to wait upon you e're this, if my desires and cares could haue wrought as stronglie with others, as they are, and shall euer be of force enough in themselues, when you shall euer be anie way concerned. But how to spur on a rustie, dull, old, torn world to anie expedition, though it be but for the dispatch of toies ; how, I say, to find out a receipt for this, were worth the knowing ; and if it were once known, it would be very well worth the buying. It vexes me at the heart that yet I can send you no account at all of the other businesse. But ease me if you can, by being satisfied as well as you can, till

¹ Printed in Sir Tobie Mathew's *A Collection of Letters*, edited (London, 1660) by John Donne (a son of the poet), pp. 85, 89, 91. The letters were presumably addressed to Sir Tobie himself ; but this is not explained by John Donne, nor are the dates of the letters given.

I may giue you cause to be better satisfied : yet now, as that vexes me, so is there somewhat else which pleases me ; and it is that the two so worthie and so well paired Friends can find anie thing in me which may be worthie to entertain anie of their most idle hours. And since you will needs be so good, you shall here haue your reward. For now I will tell you somewhat, which I knowe will please you ; and it is this : That whereas you thought and told me that the *Spaw* would do no bodie good ; this last season I owe too much, bothe to it and you, to let you goe away with that errorr. For if you saw me now, you would say it had created a new creature. Therefore, let all Pictures now hide themselues ; for, belieue me, I am not now as I was then. My Translation shall be verie shortlie with you ; and you shall haue better matter for your thoughts to work upon, if this mind of mine could fit it selfe with power enough for your seruice, but nothing shall take me from being a friend as perfect to you, as you can haue anie, in the whole world.

The phrase ‘well paired Friends’ in this letter seems to allude to the friendship between Sir Tobie Mathew and Lord Francis Bacon ; and ‘your Other-self’ in all probability refers to Bacon’s saying that Mathew was his *alter ego*. (See Mathew, A. H.: ‘The Life of Sir Tobie Mathew,’ London, 1907.) As to what the ‘Translation’ was, we can only speculate.

The late Countesse of Pembroke expresses great favour and goodnesse to the same humble Servant of hers.

Sir

I had written before my receipt of your last ; but I

protest I was so far out of all taste and temper till I had laid about me against some who were near me, that nothing could digest with me, nor passe at all out of these hands. So I staid the former dispatch. And now I send you inclosed this Nothing, which yet is all that I haue been able to get. Within a few daies (and yet but a few daies) which indeed had yet been fewer, but that I haue been sick (as I am yet not well) I shall be there, where, I hope, I may proue much more able to say somewhat of this new world to you. In the mean time you are, and shall for euer be, sure of nothing more than that, if (as you tell me) you be to be undone by the infinitenesse of good-will, and by such affection, as shall neuer do lesse, than aspire to your contentment, in the most effectual manner, to which, by any possibility, I may arriue and reach, you are then likelie enough to be undone indeed. And now let me turn myself to giue you more thanks than I haue words to use for the Present of those things which I receiued from you, for they are all most excellent. And though my desires proue not yet so fruitfull as I would they did ; nor myself so usefull to you as I wish I were : yet let me still receiue commands from you by your Letters, for they are all extreamly welcome to me. And if herein you harken to me, you haue your will by doing that which you are pleased to say you so much desire ; for so you shall do me more fauour than by all I am worth I can merit. I send you herewith such parts of what you asked as I haue yet been able to procure ; and though I cannot discreetly pray you to esteem them, yet cast your eyes kindly upon them, because they haue parted from me to none but yourself. And as this Copie is the first, so also is it to be the last. I am likely enough to see the Spaw again, though not with that grace which you giue me to bestow upon it, by that too-fauourable judgment of yours, which makes me such as I am, if that be anything. But in

what I am to your very worthie self, see you lessen me not by your own conceit, since you cannot therewith exceed, what I am indeed in my desires and purposes, to esteem highlie, and deserue perfectlie well of you. Think the best you can, and yet I will defie you for over-thinking; for I am your perfect friend beyond that, which euen you haue faith to belieue.¹

The same noble Countesse of Pembroke shows the impatience of her desires to do favour to the same humble servant.

Sir,

It was but a Dream, and that as void of true effect as the idlest of them all use to be. For otherwise, I should not speak thus loud, nor thus far off, nor make so long a reach to you still, by the Arms of my ill-written Lines. But I thought once, that you were both nearer hand, and coming to my little Lodge to visit me; when, soon after, I found by one of yours, that you had frustrated that hope, and designed yourself toward other ends. Which put me into such a braue choler as some of them know who are near me, and must haue a part of that humour whether they will or no. For I can do nothing but in earnest, though that Earnest, God knows, proues commonly as true a Nothing as if I were in Jeast. But it is strange, nay, monstrous, that such undertakers as there are in the world, should be able to make nothing good, by the effects. For to doubt of their will were not onely to make them strangely wicked, but almost euen to allow myself to be mad. For they speak as well as I would wish; and I am sure, that which they pretend to endeavour, must needs be aduantagious to themselues. I will know more shortly; and then you shall know what I can learn concerning our businesse. And

¹ *Collection of Letters*, cit. *supra*, p. 89.

you shall neuer be the owner of any care whereof I will not haue a part, either by taking it, if you will give it; or else by stealing it, if you will needs be the first to offend Justice so far, as to hide it from me.¹

There is no way of telling whether the headings to these letters are by Donne, or by Sir Tobie himself; the latter seems more probable. It would be interesting to know, also, whether the word 'Servant,' as used here, has any connotations of Renaissance platonism. But as to this we can only conjecture. That this type of letter, sent with some sort of literary enclosure, was very self-conscious, and written according to a definite convention, is evident. Sir Tobie tells us in his Preface :

And a certain wise and witty gentleman (Benjamin Buddyer) said well that if any carrier of London, going to Oxford or Cambridge, should chance to be robbed of his letters, by the way, a man would peradventure meet with more wit in that poor budget than in some whole book of foreign modern printed letters of some other nation.

Angel Day's 'The English Secretorie,'² which was first published in 1584 and went through numerous subsequent editions, furnishes us also with an elaborate and amusing corroboration of the pains devoted to such letters as these by

¹ *Letters, cit. supra*, p. 91.

² The quotations given here are from the edition published at London in 1595.

Lady Pembroke, and of the conventions and artificialities considered necessary in their composition. This Elizabethan 'Complete Letter-writer' classifies 'all sorts of Epistles,' tells us 'what is chieflie to bee respected in framing of an epistle,' and analyses the 'habite and parts of an Epistle.' Letters, we are told, may be 'Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, and Familiar,' with the sub-classes 'Descriptorie, Laudatorie, Vituperatorie, Hortatorie, Swasorie, Conciliatorie, Commendatorie, Consolatorie, Reprehensorie, Amatorie,' and so on. For each style we find a model, elaborate and often Euphuistic in style. Nor are the minutest details neglected. This 'Order of farewell,' for example, 'Wishing unto you and yours, as much happinesse, as my selfe am clogged with carefulnesse, I surcease,' would surely form a highly effective close to almost any kind of letter.

Here also is Angel Day's version of what a displeased father should write to an erring son. The reader will decide for himself whether this passage comes from an Epistle Hortatorie, Reprehensorie, or Vituperatorie.

Your wiles (Sirra) and sophisticall expositions of your owne misdemeanours, with sundrie confirmations therein used, wherby to driue me from the very suppose of that whereunto no one thing hath given more evident testimonie, then the course & progression of your whole life, are either too newly forged, to reape at my hands any sound credite, or the mettell so light, as carieth in

the weight therof verie smal substance, in my conceipt to be beleeued, etc.

Our view of Lady Pembroke's epistolary style shows that she could, with great cleverness and skill, write the polite, artificial letter so fashionable in her time. But one prefers to believe that the real woman comes out most of all in her business letters. When we find her terse, firm condemnation of 'a sedisious beggerly wretch' in Wales, or a 'bace' justice of the peace elsewhere, there is no trace of Euphuism or even of 'Arcadianism,' but the simplest, most forcible statement of her case and her opinion.

From a few more contemporary records we may guess the main outlines of Lady Pembroke's last years. The following mention of her strikes our modern ears oddly enough. That a woman of fifty-six, evidently still in full possession of all her powers, should be called 'old'—unless, indeed, to distinguish her from her daughters-in-law—shows how much our ideas of relative age and youth have changed from those of the seventeenth century.

In an item in one of the State Papers, for April 5, 1617, we find this gossip recorded.¹ 'The old Countess of Pembroke said to be married to Dr. Lister, who was with her at the Spa.'

According to Aubrey,² Sir Matthew Lister was

¹ *Calendar Dom., Jas. I, 1611-18*, p. 458.

² *Brief Lives*, vol. 2, p. 35, ed. cit.

a physician of eminence, and president of the Physicians' College in London. 'Mr. (Edmund) Wyld sayes Sir Matthew Lister built the house (at Amthill) for Mary, Countesse of Pembroke. He was her surveyour, and managed her estate.' Elsewhere¹ Aubrey says (in his Life of Lady Pembroke herself): 'This countesse, after her lord's death, maried to Sir Matthew Lister, knight, one of the Colledge of Physitians, London. He was (they say) a learned and a handsome gentleman.' But Aubrey afterwards annotates his assertion of this marriage with 'Jack Markham says they were not !' It was, of course, inevitable that a noblewoman of Lady Pembroke's prominence should have been gossiped about ; and the story seems to merit only momentary attention.

Nichols quotes as follows from Lyson's ' Bedfordshire' :

Houghton Park, otherwise Dame Ellensbury Park, was occupied in the early part of King James' reign by Sir Edmund Conquest as keeper. In 1615, he made over his interest in it to Matthew Lister and Leonard Welstead, trustees for the celebrated Mary, Countess of Pembroke, who holding the park under the crown in her widowhood, built a splendid mansion of which the shell now remains.²

On July 21, 1621, the King was at Amthill, but it is not clear at what mansion his Majesty then lodged. It was perhaps that of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke,

¹ *Brief Lives*, vol. 1, p. 312.

² Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, ed. cit. vol. 1, p. 521 note.

which was generally known, in Dr. Fuller's time, at least, as Amthill House.¹

Lady Pembroke died at her house in Aldersgate Street, London,² September 25, 1621. A letter from Chamberlain, in London, to Sir Dudley Carleton, at the Hague, gives the following account of her funeral:³

The old Countesse of Pembroke died here some ten days since of the small pockes, and on wensday night was carried with great show of coaches and torchlight toward Wilton where she is to be buried, the L. Chamberlain⁴ hath giuen the earle of mongomerie⁵ all her personal estate, contenting himself with her ioynter, [jointure] for she died without will; and I heare Dr. Lister⁶ hath sixe or sevenscore pound a yeare during his life, w^{ch} is well worne in her service, for they say he lookest old.

[Addressed :]

To the right honorable S^t
Dudley Carleton, Lord
Ambassador for his Ma^{tie}
for the States of the United
Provinces at the Hagh.

[Endorsed :]

London
y^e 13th October,
rec^d ye 23^d 1621.

Lady Pembroke is buried in the choir of Salisbury Cathedral, directly before the steps

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, ed. cit. vol. 4, p. 671 note.

² The epitaph, which comes immediately after this, in the *State Papers*, gives references for three different dates for her death: Brydges, *Censura Literaria* (?), p. 148; Collins, *Peerage*, vol. 3, p. 123; *Sydney Papers*, vol. 1, p. 97, *Memoir*.

³ *State Papers Dom.*, Jas. I, vol. 123, fol. 29 (Calendar vol. 39, p. 299).

⁴ Her eldest son, William, third Earl of Pembroke.

⁵ Her second son, Philip, afterwards fourth Earl of Pembroke.

⁶ See preceding pages.

leading up to the high altar. A number of other members of the Sidney and Herbert families are buried here also.¹ The visitor to Salisbury Cathedral is informed that when the pavement was last taken up, the leaden caskets were seen in a row ; but that Lady Pembroke's may not be certainly identified. A small diamond-shaped tablet of brass is inlaid over the supposed spot. It contains only the words 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.'

The precise character of Lady Pembroke's funeral seems to have been a matter of uncertainty among her biographers. Miss Luce says² 'she was buried with great pomp.' Mr. Philip Sidney³ considers, however, that 'her funeral rites were of a simple and inexpensive character,' and he quotes, in support, the following passage from one of Sir Robert Sidney's letters :⁴

Touching the funeral of my noble sister, the resolution is that she shall be taken to Salisbury privately, yet in a decent sort.

The tradition of her having had an elaborate funeral probably arose partly from the custom of

¹ 'I thinke she was buried in the vault in the choire at Salisbury, by Henry, Earl of Pembroke, her first husband : but there is no memorall of her, nor of any of the rest, except some penons and scutcheons.' (Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark, 1898), vol. I, p. 312.)

² *Op. cit.* p. 6.

³ *The Subject of All Verse*, 1907, pp. 18-19.

⁴ Reference for this not given by writer.

the age, and partly from the words of Chamberlain as quoted above.

Lady Pembroke was celebrated by many writers for her beauty. Had we no other evidence than the tributes of minor poets, however, we might well accept the belief with reservations. Aubrey informs us that a strong likeness existed between Lady Pembroke and her brother Philip. Sir Philip Sidney, he says, 'was not only of an excellent witt, but extremely beautifull ; he much resembled his sister, but his haire was not red, but a little inclining, viz. a darke amber colour.'¹ Lady Pembroke, Aubrey says, 'was a beautifull ladie and had an excellent witt, and had the best breeding that that age could afford. Shee had a pritty sharpe-ovall face. Her haire was of a reddish yellowe.'² 'Old Sir Walter Long of Dracot and old Mr. Tyndale' Aubrey cites as his sources³ for these and other items of information.

In view of the unusual number of her portraits that remain, however, we may form our own opinion of Lady Pembroke's personal beauty. The charming painting by Marc Gheerardts, or Geerarts, at Penshurst, represents her probably in the loveliest period of her girlhood. Capt. N. R. Wilkinson ingeniously suggests⁴ that the velvet dress represented in this picture may have been

¹ *Brief Lives*, vol. 2, p. 247 (ed. Clark).

² *Ibid.* vol. 1, pp. 310-11. ³ *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 312.

⁴ *Wilton House Pictures* (London, 1907), vol. 1, p. 128.

inherited by the young girl from her grandmother. In the will of the Duchess of Northumberland¹ mention is made of the 'black bard velvet with sables' that is bequeathed to her daughter, the wife of Sir Henry Sidney. This portrait has been reproduced in Lodge's 'Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain,' in the editions both of 1821 and 1825; in Jusserand's 'English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare,' 1890, opp. p. 235; and in Tyler's 'Sonnets of Shakespeare,' opp. p. 149.

Equal, or perhaps even greater in interest, is the portrait which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery (no. 64). This was purchased for the nation in 1859, and is attributed also to Gheerardts.² A vignette in the upper right-hand corner of the painting gives its date as 'Martii 12^{mo}, Anno Domini, 1614.' Beneath the vignette is this motto: 'No Spring till now.' Notwithstanding the fact that, according to the date given, Lady Pembroke was nearly fifty-three years old when the picture was painted, she appears as a handsome woman of many years younger. The face in this portrait is especially interesting and intellectual; but it shows a hardening of the lines which is not to be wondered at when we consider all that this noble lady had experienced since the painter drew her girlish face at Penshurst.

¹ Printed in Collins, vol. 1, p. 34, *Memoir*.

² Captain Wilkinson says that Gheerardts died before 1604.



MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

FROM THE PICTURE IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY PAINTED PROBABLY BY MARC GHEERAEDTS

The portrait at Wilton House (no. 159), likewise attributed to Marc Gheerardts, is less attractive than either of the other two mentioned above. This portrait also shows the characteristic Elizabethan lace cuffs, lace head-dress, and heavy ruff; but the face appears at once older and more seriously melancholy than that of the National Gallery portrait. This picture at Wilton House gives the impression of being less well preserved than the one in the National Gallery, and is rather disappointing.

In the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch is a miniature of Lady Pembroke (head and shoulders) attributed to Isaac Oliver.¹ This is reproduced by Philip Sidney in his monograph, 'The Subject of All Verse' (opp. p. 36). The 'Dictionary of National Biography' says that there is also a miniature of her in the possession of Earl Beauchamp.

The most interesting engraving of Lady Pembroke is that by Simon Pass, 1618, which is prefixed to Triphook's edition of the Psalms. This engraving is also reproduced in Lodge's 'Portraits,' and in Miss Costello's 'Lives of Eminent English-women.'

It is fitting to close the last chapter of Lady Pembroke's life with the lines which constitute the most noted epitaph in Elizabethan poetry.

¹ Drawing-room. Case A. no. 26. Cited by Capt. N. R. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*

The controversy concerning their authorship will be discussed in a later chapter. Meanwhile, whoever wrote them, our enjoyment of the graceful verses is unclouded. If their appropriateness be not evident, the foregoing pages will have been in vain.

On the Countesse Dowager of pembroke.¹

Underneath this sable Herse
Lyes the subiect of all verse
Sydney's sister pembroke's mother
Death e're thou hast slaine another
faire & Learn'd & good as she
Tyme shall throw a dart at thee.

Marble pyles let no man raise
To her name for after dayes
Some fond woman borne as she
Reading this like Niobe
Shall turne marble & become
Both her Mourner & her Tombe.

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS., Lansdowne, 777, fol. 43, verso.*

CHAPTER IV

LADY PEMBROKE AS EDITOR, TRANSLATOR, AND AUTHOR

ANY survey of Lady Pembroke's literary work should naturally begin with her brother's novel, 'Arcadia,' and her connection with that work. The permanent form in which that famous romance has come down to us is a form determined in great part by Lady Pembroke, to whom the book itself is dedicated. As is well known, she—after her brother's death—acted as editor for the second edition of 'Arcadia.' Although critics in the past have attributed portions of the novel itself to her pen, it seems certain now that she contributed practically nothing original to the story. Since Mr. Bertram Dobell's recent discovery of three new early manuscripts of 'Arcadia,'¹ he has thrown so much light on what Lady Pembroke's part of the work actually was, that

¹ Dobell, Bertram: *New Light upon Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia'*, *Quarterly Review*, July 1909, London (vol. 211, pp. 74-100).

I can do no more than summarise his conclusions. First, however, I shall sketch the known facts concerning the composition and first publication of the romance.

It has been generally supposed that Sir Philip Sidney began to write 'Arcadia' during his prolonged stay at Wilton in 1580.¹ That he may have begun it a year or so earlier, however, is of course entirely possible. The earliest mention of it at present known is that occurring in Thomas Howell's 'Devises' (1581), a collection of short miscellaneous poems, dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke,² and containing the following lines, 'Written to a most excellent Booke, full of rare inuention.'³ 'Arcadia' was not printed till 1590, but Howell had doubtless seen it in manuscript at Wilton.

Goe learned booke, and unto Pallas sing,
Thy pleasant tunes that sweetely sounde to hie
For Pan to reache, though Zoylus thee doth sting,
And lowre at they lawde, set nought thereby.

Thy makers Muse in spight of enuies chinne,
For wise deuise, deserued praise shall winne.

Who views thee well, and notes thy course aright,
And syftes eche sence that couched is in thee :
Must needes extoll the minde that did thee dight,
And wishe the Muse might neuer weary bee.

¹ See chap. i. pp. 40-1.

² See chap. v. pp. 157-8.

³ Howell's *Devises*, 1581, p. 44. Reprinted by Clarendon Press, 1906. Introd. by Walter Raleigh.

From whence doth flowe such pithe in filed phrase,
As worthiest witte may ioy on thee to gase.

How much they erre, thy rare euent bewrayes,
That stretch their skill the Fates to ouerthrow :
And how mans wisedome here in vaine seekes wayes,
To shun high powers that sway our states below.

Against whose rule, although we striue to runne,
What Ioue foresets, no humaine force may shunne.

But all to long, thou hidste so perfite worke,
Seest not desyre, how faine she seekes to finde :
Thy light but lost, if thou in darknesse lurke ?
Then shewe thy selfe and seeme no more unkinde.

Unfolde thy fruite, and spread thy maysters praise,
Whose prime of youth, graue deeds of age displaies.

Go choyce conceits, Mineruas Mirrour bright,
With Rubies ritch yfret, wrought by the wise :
Purfled with Pearle, and decked with delight,
Where pleasure with profite, both in their guise.

Discourse of Louers, and such as folde sheepe,
Whose sawes well mixed, shrowds misteries deepe.

Goe yet I say with speede thy charge delyuer,
Thou needst not blushe, nor feare the foyle of blame :
The worthy Countesse see thou follow euer,
Tyll Fates doe fayle, maintaine her Noble name.

Attend her wyll, if she vouchsafe to call,
Stoope to her state, downe flat before her fall.

And euer thanke thou him, that fyrst such fruite did
frame,
By whome thy prayse shall liue, to thy immortall fame.

The internal references here are indubitable,
and the fourth stanza, which urges that the author

of the romance should allow it a wider circulation, is especially interesting.

Mr. Bertram Dobell thinks that by 1580 or 1581, Sidney had entirely completed the original first draft of the romance. In support of this opinion he recalls to us the sentence in the dedication to Lady Pembroke, ‘Now, it is done onely for you, onely to you.’ Such an opinion is certainly borne out also by the poem of Howell’s, quoted above.

I shall now summarise Mr. Dobell’s conclusions :

Sidney died October 17, 1586. During his life-time, many copies of *Arcadia* in its first form had been circulated in manuscript ; and immediately after his death, one of the printers or publishers of the time attempted to bring out an edition, which would have been printed from one of these manuscripts. We learn this by a letter written by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, in November, 1586, to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney’s father-in-law.¹

‘ S^r, this day, one Ponsonby, a booke bynder in Poles Churchyard came to me and told me that ther was one in hand to print S^r Philip Sydney’s old arcadia, asking me yf it were done with your honors consent, or any other of his frendes ? I told him, to my knowledge, no : then he aduised me to giue warninge of it, either to the archbishope or doctor Cosen, who haue, as he says, a copy to peruse to that end.

S^r I am loth to renew his memory unto you, but yeat in this I must presume ; for I haue sent my lady, your

daughter, at her request, a correction of that old one, done 4 or 5 years sinse, which he left in trust with me, whereof ther is no more copies, and fitter to be printed then the first, which is so common : notwithstanding euen that to be amended by a direction sett downe under his own hand, how and why ; so as in many respects, especially the care of printing of it, is to be don with more deliberation.'

From the above passages, it is clear that there was an 'old Arcadia' which was common in manuscript form ; that the author had been engaged, perhaps some time, in revising it ; and that he left it in the hands of one of his most intimate friends, with particular directions as to how it was to be dealt with. It is also clear on what account, and in what manner, the publication of the original version of the romance was prevented.

This William Ponsonby, who thus stopped the publication of an unauthorized edition, was really a responsible publisher who probably hoped in this way to obtain the privilege of publishing an authorized edition. Somewhat less than two years later, as appears from an entry for August 23, 1588, in the Stationers' Register,¹ Ponsonby was authorized to publish the romance ; but it was not until 1590 that the work was offered for sale.

The *Arcadia*, as published by Ponsonby in 1590, seems to have been superintended and possibly edited by Lord Brooke. He was perhaps the overseer of the print, who made the division into chapters ;² and his

¹ 'William ponsonby. Receaued of him for a booke of Sir Philip Sidneys makinge intitled *Arcadia* : auctorised under the Archbishop of Canterbury hand.' Edward Arber : *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, vol. 2, fol. 231 b, 'August 23^d, 1588.'

² See Dr. Oskar Sommer's facsimile reprint of *Arcadia* (edition of 1590). London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1891.

own manuscript copy of the romance was probably the one printed from.¹

Although this first edition breaks off in the middle of Book III, and is therefore less complete than later editions, Mr. Dobell considers its text quite as authoritative as that of the folio edition of 1593, which was published under the direction of the Countess of Pembroke.

In this second edition of 1593 the division into chapters and the explanatory headings which had appeared in Lord Brooke's edition were omitted. It is clear that the 1590 edition had not been authorised by Lady Pembroke, as is shown by the 'Address to the reader,' by 'H. S.',² which appears in the folio of 1593.

The disfigured face, gentle Reader, wherewith this worke not long since appeared to the common view, moued that noble Lady to whose Honour it was consecrated, to whose protection it was committed, to take in hand the

¹ This is strongly supported by a passage in the dedication of a manuscript translation of part of Montemayor's *Diana*, by Thomas Wilson, in which the translator, addressing Lord Brooke, speaks of *Arcadia*, 'w^{ch} by yor noble vertue the world so hapily enioyes.' W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, 1906), p. 148.

² The identity of 'H. S.' is apparently determined by the following passage from Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, ed. cit. vol. 1, art. *Mary Herbert*):

'Mr. Henry Sanford was the earle's secretary, a good scholar and poet, and who did penne part of the *Arcadia* dedicated to her (as appeares by the preface). He haz a preface before it with the two letters of his name.'

wiping away of those spottes wherewith the beauties thereof were unworthely blemished. But as often repairing a ruinous house, the mending of some old part occasioneth the making of some new ; so here her honourable labor begun in correcting the faults, ended in supplying the defects ; by the view of what was ill done, guided to the consideration of what was not done. Which part with what aduise entered into, with what accesce it hath been passed through, most by her doing, all by her directing, if they may be intreated not to define, which are unfurnisht of means to discerne, the rest it is hoped will fauorably censure. But this they shall for their better satisfaction understand, that though they find not here what might be expected, they may find neuerthelesse as much as was intended, the conclusion, not the perfection of Arcadia, and that no further than the Authors owne writings or known determinations could direct. . . . But howeuer it is, it is now by more than one interest the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, done as it was, for her, as it is, by her. Neither shall these paines bee the last (if no unexpected accident cut off her determination) which the euerlasting loue of her excellent brother will make her consecrate to his memory.

The sentence ‘But . . . though they find not here what might be expected, they may find neuerthelesse as much as was intended, the conclusion, not the perfection of Arcadia,’ certainly seems to bear out Mr. Dobell’s conclusions, as they will be presently explained.

I shall now summarise Mr. Dobell’s account of the three new manuscripts of ‘Arcadia’ that were discovered by him, and his conclusions, from

these manuscripts, as to the nature of Lady Pembroke's editorship. He names and describes them as follows :

- (1) The 'Clifford' copy. (So-called from name on title-page.)
Complete. Large quarto. c. 400 pp. Text good. Contains in addition, at end, 'Dyuers and Sondry Sonetts'—about 25 in number. These give many variants from the printed versions, and also one hitherto-unprinted poem.
- (2) The 'Ashburnham' copy.
 First leaf gone ; no title, in consequence.
- (3) The 'Phillips' copy.
 This one, instead of the usual title, has 'A Treatis made by Sir Phillip Sydney, Knyght, of certeyn accidents in Arcadia, made in the year 1580, and emparted to some few of his friends in his lyfe tyme, and to more since his unfortunate deceasse.'

Of these three Mr. Dobell considers the 'Clifford' MS. most valuable. It and 'Ashburnham' were sold by him to Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., and have now passed into the hands of an American collector. The 'Phillips' MS. was, in 1909, still in Mr. Dobell's possession.

In Mr. Dobell's opinion, these three manuscripts represent the very earliest version of 'Arcadia.' This was, apparently, much more complete and coherent, as to the story, than were Sidney's later revisions. From the 'juvenileity'

of style,' Mr. Dobell thinks that this earliest version might have been begun as early as 1578, though it was probably not finished before 1580. Sidney's revisions at the time of his death had got no further than the middle of the third book, as exemplified by Lord Brooke's copy, and probably also by one in the possession of Lady Pembroke. When the Countess undertook the second edition, then, she naturally resorted to the first draft to see how this might be utilised in completing the romance. Several stories, new in the revised edition but unfinished there, are unavoidably left unfinished. But the romance as a whole is completed by a part of the third book, and all of the fourth and fifth books of the original or early version.

Except for a sentence now and then, or a negligible change in phrasing, the work seems to be entirely that of Sir Philip Sidney. Lady Pembroke *added* practically nothing; it seems, however, that she *left out* some things of value.

An extremely interesting study is yet to be made of the changes and insertions which Sidney himself made in revising his first draft. However, these do not concern our immediate subject. But Mr. Dobell points out two significant omissions made by Lady Pembroke, in adding the conclusion from the original draft.

(1) In these new manuscripts Sidney, as

Philisides, gives a short account of his life, education, hopes, and disappointed love.¹ Mr. Dobell considers this passage frankly autobiographical, and believes this to be the reason why Lady Pembroke omitted it.

(2) In the manuscripts occurs also a rather sensual description of Musidorus' feelings during his elopement with Pamela. This is omitted from the printed version—an omission that Mr. Dobell considers to be characteristic of a woman's feeling for what was, and what was not, suitable to the rest of the story.

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that whatever Lady Pembroke may or may not have contributed to the book while her brother was actually writing it at Wilton, she performed her editorial duty honestly and conscientiously. She evidently added no more than she could help; left out only those things that she deemed too personal to be printed; and employed not merely the simplest, but also the only possible means of completing the story.²

¹ This passage occurs (in the MSS.) in the *Fourth Eclogue*, i.e. between the fourth and fifth books. In the edition of 1590 the eclogues (which in the MSS. are inserted between each book and the next) are omitted.

Mr. Dobell, it seems to me, reads too much actual confession into this passage. What Sidney says about 'Mira' (supposedly Penelope Devereux), for example, is surely very conventional in form.

² For a complete collation of the edition of 1593 with that of 1590, see Dr. Oskar Sommer's introduction to his invaluable facsimile reprint of the quarto of 1590. This introduction

Lady Pembroke's principal literary activity seems to have been in translation. Of the original compositions attributed to her, only two poems have survived, and of one of these her authorship is not absolutely certain. Probably much of her work was lost, or—as Miss Luce suggests¹—printed anonymously in some of the poetical miscellanies of the day. Gabriel Harvey, in 'Pierce's Supererogation,'² says of her :

And what if she can publish more works in a moneth
than Nash hath published in his whole life ; or the
pregnantest of our inspired Heliconists can equall ?

However doubtful this may be, as evidence, it is hard to believe that a woman of so much evident literary ability and living in an age when poetic expression was not only the fashion, but a matter of course, did not do a greater amount of original composition than we now find remaining.

Of the two poems, one is an elegy, and the other a pastoral dialogue in honour of the Queen.

contains also a bibliography of the different editions of *Arcadia*, from 1590 to the present time.

An interesting business detail concerning *Arcadia* may be found in one of Rowland Whyte's letters to Sir Robert Sidney. R. Whyte writes from *Strand Bridge*, September 1, 1599 :

'The *Arcadia* is newly printed in *Scotland*, according to the best Edition ; which will make them good cheepe ; but is very hurtful to Pownsonby, who held them at a very high rate : he must sell as others doe, or they will lye upon his hands.' Collins, *op. cit. supra*, vol. 2, p. 119.

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, p. 22.

² See chap. v. p. 170.

The latter, ‘Astrea,’ was first published in Davison’s ‘Poetical Rhapsody,’ in 1602,¹ under the title, ‘A Dialogue between two shepheards, Thenot and Piers, in praise of Astrea, made by the excellent Lady, the Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, at the Queenes Maiesties being at her home at ——, Anno 15—.’ There seems to be no record of any such visit of the Queen at Wilton. Possibly the poem was written in anticipation of some projected visit, and the date and place left blank to be filled in later.

The other poem, probably but not certainly written by Lady Pembroke, is an elegy on the death of her brother Philip. It was first published in Spenser’s ‘Astrophel,’ which appeared as an appendix to ‘Colin Clouts Come Home Againe,’ in 1595.² The elegy itself has no date, but Spenser’s prefatory epistle to ‘Colin Clout’ is dated ‘From my house at Kilcolman, the 27 of December, 1591’; the elegy, then, probably belongs within the five years after Philip Sidney’s death, in 1586. This poem is usually printed with the title, ‘The Doleful Lay of Clorinda,’ from the name given by Spenser to the sister of Astrophel. In the group of poems that constitute ‘Astrophel,’ Spenser introduces Clorinda’s elegy as follows :

¹ Also in 1611 edition of *Poetical Rhapsody*, p. 23, reprinted later in Nichols’ *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3, p. 529.

² *Vide* the note to *Astrophel* in the Cambridge edition of Spenser, edited by R. E. Neil Dodge, Boston, 1908, p. 699.

And first his sister that Clorinda hight,
That gentlest shepherdess that liues this day,
And most resembling both in shape and spright
Her brother deare, began this doleful lay,
Which lest I marre the sweetnesse of the yearse,
In sort as she it sung I will rehearse.

It is rather hard for a modern reader to appreciate the ‘sweetnesse of the yearse,’ but the implication of Lady Pembroke’s authorship is sufficiently clear. In neither of these poems is the literary merit remarkable.

Those translations by Lady Pembroke that still survive are ‘The Tragedie of Antonie,’ and ‘A Discourse of Life and Death,’ from the French ; ‘The Psalms of David,’ done in conjunction with her brother Philip, and said to have been translated by Lady Pembroke from the original Hebrew ; and ‘The Triumphe of death,’ a rendering of Petrarch’s ‘Trionfo della Morte.’ I shall take these up in what seems to be their chronological order.

Lady Pembroke’s and her brother’s joint translation of the Psalter is usually supposed to have been begun in 1580, during Philip Sidney’s long stay at Wilton ; it was finished by Lady Pembroke after her brother’s death. It seems to have circulated in many manuscript copies during her lifetime, and—as will be seen in the next chapter—was enthusiastically praised by other writers of her day. Dr. John Donne wrote

a poem¹ in praise of this translation, and Dr. Thomas Moffatt, in his 'Silkewormes and their Flies' (1599)² begs her to

Vouchsafe a while to lay thy taske aside ;
 Let Petrarke sleep, giue rest to Sacred Writte :
 Or bowe or string will breake, if euer tied,
 Some little pawse aideth the quickest witte :

The reader will remember, in Aubrey's description of the contents of the library at Wilton,³ his mention of 'a translation of the whole book of Psalms in English verse, by Sir Philip Sydney, writh curiously, and bound in crimson velvet and gilt ; it is now lost.' Many of these copies, partial or complete, must have met a like fate. Of the surviving manuscripts, one is in the library at Penshurst ; one in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge ; two are in the Bodleian, and two in the British Museum. This translation of the Psalter has—strangely enough, in view of its authorship—been published only once, by Robert Triphook, in 1823⁴. The manuscript from which

¹ See chap. v. p. 191.

² See chap. v. p. 180.

³ See chap. ii. p. 39.

⁴ The / Psalmes of David / translated into / divers and sundry kindes of Verse / More rare and excellent / for the / Method and Varietie / than ever yet hath been done in English. / Begun by / the noble and learned gent. / Sir Philip Sidney, Knt., / and finished by / the right honorable / the Countess of Pembroke / his sister / Now first printed from / a copy of the Original Manuscript / Transcribed by John Davies of Hereford / in the reign of James the first. 1823.

Triphook's version was printed is that now at Penshurst, whither it passed after the Bright sale. Triphook, in his preface, describes it as follows :

The manuscript from which it [the present version] has been printed is in folio, copied from the original by John Davies of Hereford (writing master to Prince Henry); himself a poet of no mean attainments, and a cotemporary of Sir Philip Sidney. It exhibits a beautiful specimen of the calligraphy of the time. The first letters of every line are in gold ink, and it comprises specimens of all the hands in use, more particularly the Italian, then much in fashion at court. From the pains bestowed it is by no means improbable that it was written for the Prince.

Under Triphook's direction this manuscript was collated with one of the copies now in the Bodleian (Rawlinson, poet. 25). The version thus achieved is a beautiful one, and probably the most accurate one now possible.

The Bodleian copy thus employed has an especially interesting history. It is a small folio with no title-page (vii + 157 leaves), and the handwriting is that of Dr. Samuel Woodford (1636–1700), who tells us that he copied it from an older and imperfect manuscript then in his possession. This older manuscript, it is presumed, was written under the direction of Sir Philip Sidney himself, for it had corrections and alterations in Sidney's own hand. Dr. Woodford, with great pains and care, has copied all of these

corrections, as well as the text itself. On the first leaf he has written :

The originall Copy is by mee, given me by my Brother Mr. John Woodford, who bought it among other broken books to putt up Coffee pouder as I remember.

At the end of Psalm 43 he notes :

In the margin [i.e. of the original MS.] hitherto Sir Philip Sidney. Ita testor Sam. Woodforde, who for Sir Philip Sidney's sake, and to preserve such a remaine of him undertook this tiresome task of transcribing—169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The psalms which were lost from the original 'broken book' are from 88 to verse 2 of 102, both inclusive, and from Psalm 131 to the end.

That Lady Pembroke was the translator of Psalms 44–150 is presumed from various contemporary references,¹ from Woodford's note 'hitherto Sir Philip Sidney,' from the title-pages of the Penshurst MS. and the other Bodleian MS. (Rawlinson, poet. 24), and from the seven psalms accredited to Lady Pembroke in Sir John Harington's '*Nugae Antiquae*'.² Also, in a letter from

¹ See *Mouffet* and *Donne* in chap. v. of this book.

² 2nd edit. of 1792, nos. 51, 69, 104, 112, 117, 120, 137. (Park's later edition of the *Nugae* omits them all but 112 and 137, (vol. 2, p. 407)). MS. copies of three of these psalms—51, 104, and 137—exist also in the Library of the Inner Temple, London : *Petyl MSS.* 538, 43*i.* ff. 284–286. They are accompanied by a copy of a letter from Sir John Harington presenting them to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The letter is dated December 29, 1600. In it the writer speaks of Lady Pembroke as 'that Excellent Countesse, and in Poesie the mirrois of our age.' These copies present variant readings from the same psalms printed in Sir John Harington's *Nugae Antiquae*. See Appendix A for a further account of this MS.

Fulke Greville to Sir Francis Walsingham,¹ November 1586, he mentions, among other literary remains of Sidney, ‘about 40 of the psalms.’

In these Psalms, Lady Pembroke’s ability as a translator is admirably shown. The consensus of critical opinion seems to be that her part shows more literary merit than her brother’s, especially in the skill and ingenuity of the versification. Her stanzas vary from four to twelve lines, and exhibit a wonderful variety of rime schemes. One of the most interesting translations is that of Ps. 55. It has six stanzas, each composed of four triplets, with the rime-scheme abc—cba : acb—bca. Through seventy-two lines, thus, there are only three riming words. Many of these psalms have also an admirable musical movement—for example, Ps. 44, the first one by Lady Pembroke :

Lorde, our fathers true relation
Often made, hath made us knowe
How thy power, on each occasion,
Thou of old, for them did shewe.²

Lady Pembroke’s translation of Du Plessis Mornay’s ‘Le Excellent Discours de la Vie et de

¹ *State Papers*, November 1586.

² Besides those psalms printed in *Nugae Antiquae*, extracts of varying length have appeared in Daniel’s *Poetical Works*, 1739, vol. 1, p. 256; in *The Guardian*, no. 18; in Bishop Butler’s *Sidneiana* (Roxburghe Club, 1837); in Zouch’s *Memoirs of Sir Philip Sidney* (two psalms, printed, but incorrectly, at the end); in Ruskin’s *Rock Honeycomb*; and in *A Cabinet of Gems* (1892) by Dr. George Macdonald. A modern reprint of Triphook’s version would doubtless be a useful and acceptable work.

la Mort' is signed 'The 13. of May 1590. At Wilton.'¹ Philippe Du Plessis Mornay (1549–1623) was a most prominent member of the Protestant party in France at the close of the sixteenth century. When in the summer of 1577 he was sent to England to ask aid of Elizabeth for the French Protestant cause, he and Philip Sidney, first known to each other through Hubert Languet, on the continent, became intimate friends. In June 1578 Du Plessis Mornay returned to England, bringing his wife with him, and Sidney stood godfather for their infant daughter.² Four or five years later Sidney undertook a translation of 'De Veritate Christiana,' a treatise written by his friend Du Plessis Mornay. As he was too busy to complete the task, however, he intrusted it to a scribe, Arthur Golding. The latter finished the undertaking, and published, in 1587, 'A Worke concerning the Truenesse of the Christian Religion.'³ It may have been in accordance with some plan prearranged with her brother, that Lady Pembroke undertook the translation of another of Du Plessis Mornay's essays.

This essay by Du Plessis Mornay was originally

¹ From the unique copy in the British Museum. (E. 3 *recto*.) See Bibliography for complete notice.

² H. R. Fox Bourne, *Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. cit. *supra*, p. 138. See also *Memoires de Madame de Mornay*, ed. Mme. de Witt (Paris, 1868), vol. 1, p. 120.

³ Fox Bourne, *ut supra*, p. 275.

prefixed to his translation of selections from certain letters and essays of Seneca. The book was first written in 1575,¹ and first translated into English in 1577, by Edward Aggas.² Lady Pembroke's version was first printed, together with her 'Tragedie of Antonie,' in 1592.³ I give two parallel passages, from the French and the English, to show the character of the translation.

DISCOURS DE LA VIE ET
DE LA MORT.⁴

A Discourse of Life and
Death, Written in French
by *Ph. Mornay. Sieur du
Plessis Marly*

C'est un cas estrange,
& dont je ne me puis
assés esmerueiller, que les
manouuriers pour se re-
poser, hastent par maniere
de dire le cours du Soleil :
que les mariniers voguent
à toute force pour arriuer
au port, & de si loin qu'ils
descouurent la costë, jettent
cris d'allegresse : que les
pelerins n'ont bien ny aise,
tant qu'ils soient au bout
de leur voyage : & que
nous cependant qui

It seemes to mee strange
and a thing much to be
marueiled, that the laborer
to repose himselfe hasteneth
as it were the course of the
Sunne : that the Mariner
rowes with all force to
attayne the porte, and with
a ioyfull crye salutes the
descryed land : that the
traueiler is neuer quiet nor
content till he be at the
ende of his voyage : and
that wee in the meane
while tied in this world to

¹ *Memoires of Mad. de Mornay*, ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 1, p. 89.

² *The Defence of Death*, by E(dward) A(ggas), London, 1577,
(Cop. in Brit. Mus.)

³ See pp. 144 *et seq.*

⁴ *Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort*, par Phillipes de
Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marlin, Gentilhomme François,
Rochelle, 1581.

sommes en ce monde
attachez & liez à un per-
petuel ouurage, agités de
continuelles tempestes,
harassés d'un si scabreux
& mal aisé chemin, ne
voions toutesfois la fin &
le bout de nostre tache
qu'a regret, ne regardons
nostre vray port que avec
larmes n'approchons de
nostre giste paisible sejour
qu'aucue horreur & tremble-
ment. C'este vie n'est
qu'une toile de Penelopé,
ou tousjours y a à tistre &
à retistre, une mer a-[Aii
verso.] bandonnée à tous
vents, qui ores dedans, ores
dehors nous tourmantent
sans cesse: un voyage
fascheux par gelées & par
chaleurs, extremes, par
roides montagnes & par
precipices, par deserts &
par brigandages. Ainsi en
deuisons nous en faisant
nostre besongne en tirant
à cest auiron, en passant
ce miserable chemin. Et
voila neantmoins, quand
la mort vient mettre fin à
nos trauaux, quand elle
nous tend les bras pour nous
tirer au port, quand apres
tant de dangereux passages

a perpetuall taske, tossed
with continualle tempest,
tyred with a rough and
combersome way, cannot
yet see the ende of our
labour but with grieve, nor
behold our porte but with
teares, nor approch our
home and quiet abode but
with horrour and trembling.
This life is but a *Penelopes*
web, wherein we are al-
wayes doing and undoing:
a sea open to all windes,
which sometime within,
sometime without neuer
cease to torment us: a
weary iorney through ex-
treame heates, and coldes,
ouer high mountaynes,
steepe rockes, and theeuish
deserts. And so we terme
it in weauing at this web,
in rowing at this oare,
in passing [A 2 *verso*] this
miserable way. Yet loe
when death comes to ende
our worke, when she
stretcheth out her armes
to pull us into the porte,
when after so many danger-
ous passages, and lothsome
lodgings she would conduct
us to our true home and
resting place: in steede
of reioycing at the ende of

& de fascheuses hostelleries
elle nous veut mener à
nostre vray domicile, au
lieu de nous resjouir, de
reprendre coeur a la veue
de nostre terre, de chanter
en approchant de nostre
bi heureux sejour, nous re-
prendrions, qui nous vou-
droit croire, nostre besongne,
nous reguinderions
la voile au vent, &
rebrousserions volontiers
nostre chemin. Plus il ne
nous souvient alors de nos
peines, nos naufrages &
perils sont oubliez, nous ne
craignons plus n'y le trauail,
ny les brigans. Au con-
traire nous aprehendons la
mort comme une peine
extreme, la redoutons
comme un escueil, & la
fuyons comme un brigandage.¹

Mais nous-nous en
deuons seruir, pour en seruir
Dieu, qui apres icelle, nous
mettra en un vray repos, &
nous comblera de plaisirs
qui ne perissent point.
nous ne deuons point aussi

our labour, of taking com-
fort at the sight of our
land, of singing at the
approch of our happie
mansion, we would faine,
(who would beleue it ?) re-
take our worke in hand, we
would againe hoise saile
to the winde, and willinglie
undertake our iourney
anew. No more then re-
member we our paines, our
shipwracks and dangers are
forgotten : we feare no
more the trauailes nor the
theeues. Contrarywise, we
apprehende death as an
extreame payne, we doubt
it as a rocke, we flye it as
a theefe.²

To ende, we ought
neither to hate this life
for the toiles therein, for
it is slouth and cowardise :
nor loue it for the delights,
which is follie and vanitie :
but serue us of it, to serue
God in it, who after it shall
place us in true quietnesse,
and replenish us with plea-
sures whiche shall neuer
more perish. Neyther

¹ Pp. 1-2. (*Aii, recto and verso.*)

² *Op. cit. supra.* p. 140. (*A2, recto and verso.*)

fuir la mort : car c'est enfance qui de la craindre, & en fuyant elle se rencontre. Ny moins la chercher car c'est temerité, & aussi ne meurt-il pas qui veut. Il y a autant de desespoir en l'un que de l'ascheté en l'autre, & en nul des deux n'ya aucune espece de magnanimité. Suffit que nous l'attendions, & [D.iv *verso*] pied ferme & a toute heure, afin qu'elle ne nous prenne jamais a despourueu : Car comme il n'y a rien plus certain que la mort, aussi n'y a il rien plus incertain que l'heure d'icelle, conneuë au seul Dieu autheur unique de vie & de la mort, auquel tous deuons táscher de viure & mourir. Amen.

Mourir pour viure, & viure pour mourir.¹

ought we to flye death, for it is childish to feare it ; and in flieng from it, wee meete it. Much lesse to seeke it, for that is temeritie : nor euery one that would die, can die. As much despaire in the one, as cowardise in the other : in neither any kinde of magnanimitie. It is enough that we constantly and continually waite for her comming, that shee may neuer finde us unprovided. For as there is nothing more certaine then death, so is there nothing more uncertaine then the houre of death, knownen onlie to God, the onlie Author of life and death, to whom wee all ought endeavour both to liue and die.

*Die to liue,
Liue to die.²*

From the point of view of literary history and literary influences, however, by far the most important work of Lady Pembroke was her translation of ' Marc Antonie,'³ a French tragedy on

¹ Pp. 27-8. (D. iii. *recto* and *verso*.)

² E. 2, *verso*, E. 3, *recto*.

³ First acted and published in Paris, 1578. Second edition, 1585. The latter text is the one used by Lady Pembroke.

the Senecan model, by Robert Garnier (1534–1590). This was first published in 1592, with the translation from Du Plessis Mornay.¹ A second edition appeared in 1595. I quote and summarise the bibliographical and critical account of this play from Miss Alice Luce's admirable reprint.²

The title-page of the edition of 1595 reads :

The Tragedie of Antonie
Doone into English by the Countesse of Pembroke
(Vignette)
Imprinted at London for Willam Ponsonby
1595

The copy in the British Museum is an unpagued quarto, well printed, with a woodcut border about each page.

In the Bodleian are two copies of 'Antonie.'³ One is an octavo, the title-page of which agrees with that of the 1595 edition quoted above, except that the name Sidney (Mary) is inserted before the Countess of Pembroke, and that the imprint is 'London, by P.S. for Will Ponsonby, 1595.'

There is another edition, a quarto, in which a manuscript title in ink has been supplied in place of the lost original. The date 1595 written here-upon is known by comparing the book with other existing copies of the same edition. The only date

¹ See Bibliography.

² The Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*, ed. with introd. by Alice Luce, Weimar, 1897, pt. ii. pp. 31–120 *passim*.

³ Malone, 208.

printed anywhere in this copy is in the inscription at the end: 'At Ramsburie, 26 of November, 1590.'

Lady Pembroke's *Antonie* is the first of that series of pure Seneca plays which appeared in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, and which indicate the continuous revolt in higher literary circles against the overwhelming progress of the English romantic drama. We shall see that it afterwards became the model of the only two plays in English literature which are written wholly in the style of the French Senecan drama. . . .

The translation reproduces very faithfully the content of the original. . . . It follows in general the verse order of the original, but in the choruses, where the translator is hampered by rime, the rendering is much freer, and the order of the verse often much transposed, as in the chorus at the end of Act II. . . .

The verse of the French original, except in the choruses, is the Alexandrine, the verses riming in pairs.

. . . Lady Pembroke translates these Alexandrines into English blank verse. She has followed the text of the original so closely that the English verse is often rough, and the inverted sentences sometimes give a strained effect to the measures; but if we consider that 'Marlowe's mighty line,' though it had existed in a few plays for thirty years, first became the property of the English public in *Tamburlaine*, printed 1590, we must admit that she uses the new metre with a very considerable degree of skill. Kyd, who probably was a protégé of Lady Pembroke's,¹ had already written in this metre and may have encouraged her to attempt the measure which he had already used so skilfully. . . .

Lady Pembroke's command of form and metre, which

¹ Herrig's *Archiv*, XC, pp. 190-91, art. by J. Schick.

has already been noticed in connection with her translation of the psalms, is shown in her rendering of the choral lyrics. By far the most skilful part of her translation of *Antonie* is in these choruses.¹ . . .

That *Antonie* must have been a popular play in certain circles is shown by the fact that it reached two editions within three years.

Kyd's translation of Garnier's 'Cornélie' (1594-5) and Daniel's tragedies 'Cleopatra' (1594) and 'Philotas' (1605) will be referred to in the next chapter. The dedication to Daniel's 'Cleopatra'² shows that it was undoubtedly written at Lady Pembroke's suggestion :

Lo. here the labours which she did impose
Whose influence did predominate my muse ;
The starre of wonder my desires first chose,
To guide their travels in the course I use ;

I who (contented with a humble song)
Made music to myself that pleased me best,
And only told of Delia and her wrong,
And prais'd her eyes, and plain'd mine own unrest—
(A text from which my muse had not digress'd)
Madam, had not thy well-graced Antonie,
(Who all alone hauing remained long)
Wanted his Cleopatras company.

'The Triumphe of death translated out of Italian by the Countesse of Pembroke' is a poetical rendering of Petrarch's 'Trionfo della

¹ In the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* the choruses are incorrectly called Lady Pembroke's original compositions : ' adding choral lyrics of her own.'

² See chap. v. p. 165.

Morte.' A copy of this translation survives among the Petyt MSS.¹ at the Library of the Inner Temple in London. The manuscript is accompanied by a letter (copied in the same hand) from Sir John Harington to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The letter is dated 29 December, 1600, hence it seems reasonable to suppose that the translation had been completed some years previous, as manuscript copies were in circulation in 1600. The popularity of Petrarch was great at this period. In Roger Ascham's 'Scholemaster' we are told that

Then they [the Englishe men Italianated] haue in more reuerence the *Triumphes* of Petrarch then the *Genesis* of Moses.²

And Lady Pembroke's interest in Petrarch is shown by the lines already quoted from Moffatt's 'Silkewormes' (1599) :

Let Petrarke sleep, give rest to Sacred Writte.

This hitherto unpublished translation, which is an interesting and attractive one, is printed in this volume, Appendix A. It renders the original faithfully, and reproduces with great success the *terza rima* of Petrarch's poem. It is the only translation (ancient or modern) of the 'Trionfo

¹ 538, 43, i. ff. 286-289.

² *The Scholemaster*, London, 1570, reprinted in *Cambridge English Classics, The English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), p. 232.

della Morte' that keeps the *terza rima* of its Italian original.

The general result of this survey of Lady Pembroke's literary work is to show her a conscientious editor, a verse writer of average ability, and a translator of great merit. That she enjoyed translating is evident, both from the fact that she did it well, and because the major part of her work seems to have consisted of translation. It is of course perfectly possible that new works from her hand may yet be discovered. As has already been suggested, she must have written more than has come down to us. But at any rate, enough remains to show her an interesting, if not a significant or important figure among the greater literary personages of her great time.

CHAPTER V

LADY PEMBROKE AS A PATRON OF LETTERS

THE education and culture of the Elizabethan lady is a fascinating subject upon which much light is still to be thrown. It is clear that those tendencies of the renaissance which had to so striking an extent contributed to the broader development and greater freedom of the Italian women of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had penetrated through France to England. It is doubtful just how far these characteristics of Italian renaissance culture took root in the England of Elizabeth. But we have only to remember the attainments of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, Margaret Roper, and Lady Bacon, the mother of Francis and Anthony Bacon, to realise the breadth of training that was given to the Elizabethan lady of rank.¹

¹ The general question of the education and position of women in the renaissance will be found ably and admirably discussed in Cunliffe, John W., *The Renascence and Women*, in *The McGill*

Nicholas Udall's famous description¹ of the education of a young girl of wealth and position in the England of the Tudors, confirms the generalisations that one may make from the individual instances mentioned above. Lady Pembroke probably had as thorough a training as the means and opportunities of her family could afford. She must have been an excellent linguist, reading French and Italian with ease. We may assume that she knew Latin also, and a not thoroughly authenticated tradition says that she could likewise read Hebrew.² More probably, however, she and her brother Philip both used the Latin Vulgate.

Lady Pembroke's greatest intellectual merit, however, lay undoubtedly in her liberal attitude toward literature. The present chapter aims to give an impression of the numbers of men of letters whom she countenanced and benefited, as well as of the praises which—interestedly or disinterestedly—were showered upon her as a patron of literature.

It should be remembered that Lady Pembroke was only one of a group of ladies of rank whose

University Magazine, December 1903, pp. 64–83; Boulting, William, *Woman in Italy*, London, 1910; Maulde la Clavière, René, *Les Femmes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1898; and Fletcher, J. B., *The Religion of Beauty in Woman*, New York, 1911.

¹ In his preface to the *Gospel of John*, partly translated by Princess Mary, and partly by the Rev. F. Malet.

² Ballard, *Memoirs of British Ladies*, London, 1752; art. *Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*.

tastes were literary, and whose purses were more or less open. Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560?–1616), Lucy, Countess of Bedford (*b.* (?), *d.* 1627), Anne Clifford (1590–1676), Countess of Dorset and Montgomery, were all women of this type. Lady Pembroke, however, easily surpasses them all in the solidity of her attainments, and the real scope of her contributions to letters and culture.

There are two possible, or semi-reliable accounts of the literary atmosphere of Wilton during Lady Pembroke's lifetime: Aubrey's descriptions, in his 'Wiltshire' and his 'Brief Lives'; and the well-known passage in Nicholas Breton's 'Wits Trenchmour.' In the latter, the lady who is described is supposed to be the Countess of Pembroke, and the place, Wilton. Of these two accounts, the first is definite enough in its allusions, but is unreliable because Aubrey is its author; the second has a sufficiently reliable author (aside from his incentive to flattery), could we only be certain that Breton really meant Lady Pembroke and Wilton.

Aubrey's account¹ follows :

I shall now passe to the illustrious Lady Mary, Countesse of Pembroke, whom her brother hath eternized by his Arcadia; but many or most of the verses in the Arcadia were made by her Honour, and they seem to have been writt by a woman. 'Twas a great pity that Sir Philip had not lived to have put his last hand to it.

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 89–90. See chap. ii. of this book.

He spent much, if not most part of his time, here, and at Ivychurch, near Salisbury, which did then belong to this family, when he was in England; and I cannot imagine that Mr. Edmund Spenser could be a stranger here.

Her Honour's genius lay as much towards chymistrie as poetry. The learned Dr. Mouffet that wrote of Insects and of Meates had a pension hence. In a catalogue of English playes set forth by Gerard Langbain, is thus, viz :

'Lady Pembrok, *Antonius*. 4to.'

'Underneath this sable herse, etc.'

These verses were made by Mr. Browne, who wrote the 'Pastoralls,' and they are inserted there.¹ . . . There lived in Wilton, in those dayes, one Mr. Boston, a Salisbury man (his father was a brewer there), who was a great chymist, and did great cures by his art. The Lady Marye, Countesse of Pembroke, did much esteeme him for his skill, and would have had him to have been her operator, and live with her, but he would not accept of her Ladyship's kind offer. But after long search after the philosopher's stone, they found in his laboratory two or three baskets of egge shells, which I remember Geber saith is a principall ingredient of that stone.

In his 'Brief Lives' (article 'Mary Herbert')² Aubrey repeats this information, with additional details.

In her time Wilton house was like a College, there were so many learned and ingeniose persons. She was the greatest patronesse of witt and learning of any lady

¹ That Aubrey, writing in the last quarter of the 17th century, attributes the epitaph to William Browne, is interesting and significant.

² Ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 1, pp. 310-13.

in her time. She was a great chymist and spent yearly a great deale in that study. She kept for her laborator in the house Adrian Gilbert (vulgarly called Dr. Gilbert), halfe brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was a great chymist in those dayes. 'Twas he that made the curious wall about Rowlington-parke, which is the parke that adjoyns to the house at Wilton. Mr. Henry Sanford was the earle's secretary, a good scholar and poet, and who did penne part of the *Arcadia* dedicated to her (as appears by the preface). He haz a preface before it with the two letters of his name. 'Tis he that haz verses before Bond's Horace. She also gave an honourable yearly pension to Dr. Mouffett, who hath writt a booke *De insectis*. Also one . . . Boston, a good chymist, a Salisbury man borne, who did undoe himselfe by studying the philosopher's stone, and she would haue kept him but he would have all the gold to himselfe and so dyed I thinke in a gaole.

If unqualified credence could be given to Aubrey's account, it would be most valuable, as there is no other source of information concerning Lady Pembroke's scientific tastes. Breton's description is concerned partly with the literary atmosphere of Wilton, and partly—this has its pathetic side—with the creature comforts to be found there. In a wealthy establishment, with a mistress full of prepossession for even the most mediocre versifier, there must have been much to soothe even that *genus irritabile*, the Elizabethan minor poet.

Then Sir, you shall understand quoth the Scholler, that in the time of my travaile, comming (by occasions)

as well into the Pallaces of Princes, as the cottages of poore people, it was my hap, yea I may well say, that under heaven it was my greatest happiness that of this worlde I ever founde, to light into the courtlike house of a right worthy honourable Lady, the desert of whose commendations, far exceeding the stile of my study, I must leave to better wits to dilate of, while I poorlie speake of the little world of my wonder. For in her eye was the seate of pittie, in her hart the honour of vertue, and in her hand the bounty of discretion: to see her countenance the comfortlesse, argueth a divine spirit, to heare her speak, which was never idle, prooved an oracle of wit, to beholde her presence, might speake of a miracle in nature: to bee short, except Plato, I knew no such philosopher: except the excepted, I meane the Lady of Ladies in this world,¹ . . . : except I say this sun of the earths skie, I knowe not a starre of that state that can compare light with thys Lady:² . . . Honour is her servant, Vertue is her love, Truth is her studie, and Meditation is her exercise: . . . But among many good parts, whereof her praise is top full, I wil tell you one action, and not the least, that fell out in my time of attendance on her favour: Her house beeing in a maner a kinde of little Court, her Lorde in place of no meane command, her person no lesse than worthily and honourable attended, as well with Gentlewomen of excellent spirits, as divers Gentlemen of fine carriage, besides all other servants, each of such respect in her place, as well might give praise to the Governours, where honor setteth, rules of such discretion. It might perhaps seeme teadious to set down the truth of such particulars as deserved a generall comendation, where first, God daily served,

¹ Here follows a long passage of flattering allusion to the Queen.

² Omitted passages that follow are simply repetitions of the phrases that precede.

religion trulie preached, all quarrels avoyded, peace carefully preserved, swearing not heard of, where truth was easilie beleaved, a table fully furnished, a house richly garnished, honor kindly entertained, vertue highly esteemed, service well rewarded, and the poore blessedly relieved, might make much for the truth of my discourse . . . let this suffice for the sum of my speech, that where the eye of honour, did set the rule of government, kindnesse was a companion in every corner of the house : now to this little Earths kind of Paradise, among many sundry kinde of people, came by chance a poore Gentleman in the ruine of his fortune, by the devise of a close conveyance of an imagined friend brought in, having more wit then discretion, in the nature of a good foole, to give this Lady cause of laughter : who no sooner sounded the substance of his wit, but with the deepe eye of her rare iudgement, percing into the humble vertue of his spirit, pittyng his fortune, and perceiving his want, made use of his service in a better sence, and in the divine nature of her blessed spirit, determined the mean of his advancement. With her countenance she graced him, with good words she favoured him, with her bountie, shee relieved him, and would suffer no man to hurt him :¹ . . . Thus did this Princesse entertaine thys poore Gentleman, till by the faction of the malicious, the deceitfull working of the envious, & the desart of his owne unworthinessse, finding in the deceiving of this his bright sun, the sinking of his too happy favour, supping up his sorrowe to himselfe, taking leave for a time, to travaile about a little idle business, in a cold snowy day passing over an unknowne plaine, not looking well to his way, or beeing ordained to the misery of such misfortune, fell so deepe downe into a Saw-pitte, that he shall repent the fall while he lives : for never since daring to presume,

¹ There seems to be no way of knowing what episode in Breton's life this refers to.

but in prayers to thinke on his faire Princesse, and living in poore Cottages, to looke towards that Court-like palace, he hath gone up and down like a shadowe without substance ; a purse without money, and a body without a spirit.

For ever since, as he hath often told me, if he have come among men, it hath beene like a Faire of rude people, compared to the sweet company of that house, if in the company of women, like a meeting of Gossips, in respect of the gracious spirits of the sweete creatures of that little paradice.¹

In Grosart's opinion this account of Breton's is autobiographical, and the suggestion seems reasonable enough. Breton evidently knew Lady Pembroke well, for he dedicated to her the other poetical and prose works whose dedicatory letters and addresses presently follow.

I have endeavoured to make as complete a list as possible, in a fairly connected chronological form, of all the books, poems, and complimentary addresses of any kind, that were offered to Lady Pembroke during her lifetime and after her death. The epistle-dedicatory of Thomas Howell's 'Devises' is the earliest one that I have been able to find. It is dated 1581, when Lady Pembroke was still hardly more than a girl, and when her brother was yet living.

¹ From Nicholas Breton's *Wits Trenchmour* (London, 1597), *Chertsey Worthies' Library*, ed. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1879), vol. 2, b, pp. 18-20. Dr. Grosart is my authority for the identification of the Lady as Lady Pembroke.

To the Right Honorable, and most vertuous Lady, the
Lady Marye Countesse of Pembroke

this poet dedicated his ‘Devises.’¹ His words
are more graceful and less lavish than those in
many of these Elizabethan dedications. I quote
the closing lines :

Therefore right Noble Lady, let me be bold to
remember you in behalfe of myself, of that which
Demosthenes is reported to haue spoken to Alexander,
in defence of the Athenians. You haue (sayd he) most
worthy Emperour, by fortune no greater good then
that you maye : by nature no better gifte then that you
wishe to doe good to many. The credite and estimation
your vertuous lyfe, and rare wisedome hath procured
you : the honorable curtesie and sweete behauour
wherewith Nature hath plentifully endued you, shal
not be eyther unfitly or unfruitfully used, if you shal
vouchsafe to employ the one in defence, and shew the
other in good acceptance of this slender worke of your
seruant, which as I did wryte at ydle times in your
house, to auoyde greater ydlenesse or worse businesse :
so I present it humbly unto you. . . .

One of the most conspicuous of Lady Pembroke’s earlier literary devotees was Nicholas Breton, who dedicated to her perhaps a greater actual number of books and poems than any other poet of her time, except Samuel Daniel and Abraham Fraunce. I quote the following list of Breton’s offerings. The title-page to the earliest one is phrased as follows :

¹ *H. His Devises*, London, 1581 (*Howell’s Devises*, 1581). Reprinted, with an Introduction by Walter Raleigh, Clarendon Press, 1906. *Tudor and Stuart Library*).

Nicholas Breton's *The Pilgrimage to Paradise ioyned with the Countesse of Penbrookes Loue*, Oxford, 1592.

To the Right Honourable Vertuous, and Worthy Ladie, the Ladie Mary Countesse of Penbrooke, continuall health *with eternall happinesse*.

Right noble Lady, whose rare vertues, the wise no lesse honour, then the learned admire, and the honest serue : how shall I, the abiect of fortune, unto the obiect of honour, presume to offer so simple a present, as the poeticall discourse of a poore pilgrimes trauaile ? I know not how, but, with falling at the feete of your fauour, to craue pardon for my imperfection : who hath redde of the Duchesse of Urbina, may saie, the Italians wrote wel : but who knowes the Countesse of Penbrooke, I thinke hath cause to write better : and if she had many followers ? haue not you mo seruants ? and if they were so mindfull of their fauours : shall we be forgetfull of our dueties ? no, I am assured, that some are not ignorant of your worth, which will not be idle in your seruice : that will make a title but a tittle, where a line shall put downe a letter : and if shee haue receiued her right in remembrance, you must not haue wrong in being forgotten : if she were the honour of witte, you are the comfort of discretion, if she were the faouurer of learning, you are the maintainer of Arte, and if she had the beauty of Nature, you beautifie Nature, with the blessing of the spirite : and in summe, if shee had any true perfection to be spoken of, you haue many mo truly to be written of : which among all, the least able to iudge of, and of all, the very least worthy, in your fauour to write of, your poore unworthy named poet, who by the indiscretion of his youth, the malice of enuy, and the disgrace of ingratitude, had utterly perished (had not the hand of your honor reuiued the hart of humility) will not so bury in the graue of obliuion, but

that your deserued fame, shall so sounde in the eares of honourable hearts, that, if I speake, more then I maie, the Iudgement of the wise, and the tongues of the learned, I know will no lesse cleere me of the flattery, then wish, a minde of more perfection, to be emploied in your seruice ; to conclude, I beseech you so fauour my labour, and to looke on the worke, thinke not of the ruines of Troie, but helpe to builde up the walles of Ierusalem : which figure, if it seeme obscure, let the poore pilgrime, that seeketh Paradise, finde heauen the better by your fauour : to the comfort of which, committing under heauen, the hope of my hearts happinesse with humble prayer for your eternall prosperitie, I rest in no lesse bounden duety, then humble seruice

Your Ladishipps unworthy named Poet
NICHOLAS BRETON.¹

Breton's comparison of Lady Pembroke with the Duchess of Urbino is of very great interest, showing, as it does, that the Italian fashion of a cultivated lady of rank as the centre of a literary and artistic circle had reached England, along with all the other Italian 'influences' of that and earlier periods.

The next work which Breton offered to Lady Pembroke is called 'Auspicante Jehouah, Maries Exercise,' and was printed at London in 1597.² He addresses it 'To the Right Honourable and vertuous, Lady, the Lady Mary, Countesse of Penbrooke, health, happinesse, and heauen.' It

¹ *Chertsey Worthies' Library*, ed. Grosart, vol. 1, p. 4, Edinburgh, 1879.

² Ed. Grosart, cit. *supra*, vol. 2, a, p. 4.



MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

FROM THE ENGRAVING BY SIMON PASS

is a series of prayers, in prose, based upon biblical incidents and episodes. The next is, as its name indicates, a long religious poem : 'A Diuine Poeme, diuided into two Partes: The Rauisht Soule and the Blessed Weeper,' compiled by Nicholas Breton, Gentle-man, London, 1601.¹ This work has also a characteristically worded dedication :

To the Right Honourable, discrete, and vertuous Lady, the Nourisher of the Learned and fauourer of the Godly : my singuler good Lady, the Lady Mary, Countesse of Pen-brooke : Nich. Breton wisheth all the good that the Heauenens will and the world can giue, to the pleasure of the Highest, and her worthy heartes desire.

Of the poem called 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion,'² Lady Pembroke was long supposed to have been the author. Now, however, it is known to have been written by Nicholas Breton. The curious reader will find in Appendix B of this volume an account of this poem, and of the misapprehension as to its authorship which prevailed for so many generations.

Nicholas Breton, however, was neither the earliest nor the most long-winded of Lady Pembroke's literary protégés. Samuel Daniel (1562-3?-1619), and Abraham Fraunce (fl. 1587-1633) both participated in her favour. Fraunce was a protégé of the Sidneys, as well as of the Pembrokes. Sir Philip Sidney is said to have paid his

¹ Ed. Grosart, cit. *supra*, vol. I, p. 4.

² *Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane*, 1303. See Appendix B.

expenses at college, in or about the year 1575, and in 1590 Henry, Earl of Pembroke, recommended him to Lord Burghley for the office of Queen's solicitor.¹ In 1587 Fraunce dedicated 'To the Right Honourable, vertuous and learned Ladie, the Ladie Mary Countesse of Penbroke,' his translation 'The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis, paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameters by Abraham Fraunce.'² In the next year, 1588, he offered to her, also, his 'Arcadian Rhetorike,'³ in the following words :

Voi, pia nympha, tuum quem tolse, la morte, Philippum.
Ædentem llenas colesti melle palabras.

Italicum lumen, flowre of Fraunce, splendor Iberus,
Italicus Tasso, French Salust, Boscan Iberus,
Τῆς Ρομῆς Ρομη Virgil, τῆς Ελλαδὸς Ελλας
Greekish Homer, tanto laeti iunguntur ἐταιρῷ.

Your Honors most affectionate

ABRAHAM FRAUNCE.

¹ Fraunce, ed. Grosart, *Memorial Introd.* p. 5.

² Arber, *English Reprints*, no. 21 (1870); Thos. Watson, *Poems*, pp. 11–13. From text of copy in Bodleian Library. See also J. P. Collier, *Bibliog. Cat.* 1, 296. According to Arber, this was a dishonest statement by Fraunce; he was really translating from Watson's *Amintae Gaudia*. (See Nashe's *Letter to the Gentlemen Students* prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*.)

'Sweete Master France by his excellent translation of Master Thomas Watsons sugred Amintas animated their [our peaceable Poets'] dulled spirits.'

Robert Greene, The Huth Library, ed. Grosart (London, 1881–6), vol. 6, p. 21.)

³ Bodleian Malone Coll., 514. Quoted in Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904) vol. 1, pp. 303–4. 'The lines are reprinted here exactly as they are in the original.'

'The Countesse of Pembroke's Emmanuell' (London, 1591)¹ contains this epistle-dedicatory from the author :

To the right excellent and most honorable Lady, the Lady Mary, Countesse of Pembroke.

Mary the best Mother sends her best Babe to a Mary ;
Lord to a Ladies sight, and Christe to a Christian hearing.

Your Honours most
affectionate

ABRAHAM FRAUNCE.

And in 1591 Fraunce published also 'The Countesse of Pembroke's Ivychurch. Containing the affectionate life, and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas . . . by Abraham Fraunce,' (London, 1591).²

In the next year appeared 'The Third part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Yvychurch, entitled Amintas Dale. Wherein are the most conceited tales of the Pagan Gods in English Hexameters' (London, 1592).

The dedication reads : *Illustrissimae atque ornatissimae Heroinae, piae, formosae, eruditae : Dominae Mariae, Comitissae Pembrokiensi.*

¹ *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, ed. Grosart (London, 1872), vol. 3, p. 53.

² Arber's *English Reprints*, no. 21 (1870) ; Thomas Watson, *Poems*, pp. 11-13. From text of copy in Bodleian Library. See also Collier, J. P., *Bibliog. and Crit. Cat.* 1, 296. Collier says that there were two editions between the one of 1587 and this of 1591, which was the fourth.

In this poem Lady Pembroke herself figures as 'fayre Pembrokiana':¹

Now that solempne feast of murdred Amyntas aproached
 And by the late edict by Pembrokiana pronounced,
 Yvychurches nymphs and pastors duely prepared
 With fatall Garlands of newfound flowre Amaranthus,
 Downe in Amyntas dale, on Amyntas day be asembled,
 and so on, through many pages.

The poet Samuel Daniel (1562-3?-1619) seems also to have had pleasant and intimate relations with the family at Wilton. In his 'A Defence of Ryme' (London, 1607), which is addressed 'To William Herbert, Erle of Pem-brooke,' Daniel speaks thus of Lady Pembroke. Defending rime against the charges of grossness and barbarity, he says:²

Hauing beene first encourag'd and fram'd thereunto
 by your most worthy and honorable mother, and re-
 ceiuued the first notion for the formall ordering of those
 compositions at *Wilton*, which I must euer acknowledge
 to haue been my best schoole and thereof alwayes am to
 holde a feeling and gratefull memorie.

Daniel's 'Delia' is dedicated to Lady Pembroke. The first and second editions of 1592 have a dedicatory address in prose. Here the poet affirms:³

¹ For an interesting study of Fraunce, see E. Koeppel, *Englische Tasso-uebersetzungen*, Anglia XI, pp. 11 *et seq.*

² *Complete Works of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Grosart. Printed for the Spenser Society, 1896, vol. 4, pp. 35-6. Dr. Grosart places the period of Daniel's stay at Wilton in or about 1585.

³ Ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 1, pp. 33-4.

I desire onely to bee graced by the countenance of your protection : whome the fortune of our time hath made the happie and iudicall Patronesse of the Muses (a glory hereditary to your house) to preserue them from those hidious Beestes, Obliuion and Barbarisme.

In the third edition (1594) a dedicatory sonnet is substituted for the prose epistle. Here Daniel addresses Lady Pembroke as

Wonder of these, glory of other times,
O thou whom Envy ev'n is forst t' admyre :
Great Patroness of these my humble Rymes.¹

Daniel's tragedy after the Senecan model, 'Cleopatra,' was first published with 'Delia' in 1594. It contains a verse epistle-dedicatory to Lady Pembroke.² This poem is in fourteen stanzas and contains references to Lady Pembroke's translation of Garnier's 'Antonie,' and to her translation of the Psalms. By this latter work Daniel declares that her name will be known

When *Wilton* lies low-leuell'd with the ground.

Finally, Daniel's long historical poem, 'The Civile Warres,' is likewise offered, in a long prose epistle,³ to Lady Pembroke. This epistle first appeared in the edition of 1609.

Edmund Spenser, it is well known, was a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and an intimate member of Sidney's literary circle. From the hand of Lady Pembroke, likewise, Spenser must have received

¹ Ed. cit. vol. 1, p. 35.

² *Ibid.* vol. 3, pp. 23-8.

³ *Ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 5 *et seq.*

many favours. His poem, ‘The Ruines of Time,’ he dedicated to ‘the right noble and beautiful ladie, the Ladie Marie, Countesse of Pembroke.’¹

I dedicate, he says, unto your La: as whome it most speciallie concerneth, (this poem,) and to whome I acknowledge myself bounden by manie singular fauours and great graces.

In the course of the poem, moreover, he speaks of Lady Pembroke’s own poetry :

But who can better sing
Than thine owne sister, peerless Ladie bright,
Which to thee sings with deep harts sorrowing,
Sorrowing tempered with deare delight.²

One of the sonnets prefixed to the ‘Faerie Queene’ is addressed to Lady Pembroke, and alludes to her personal resemblance to her brother.³

Remembrance of that most Heroicke spirit,
The heuens pride, the glory of our daies,
Which now triumpheth, through immortall merit
Of his braue vertues, crownd with lasting baies
Of heuenlie blis and euerlasting praies ;
Who first my Muse did lift out of the flore,
To sing his sweet delights in lowlie laies ;
Bids me, most noble Lady, to adore
His goodly image, liuing euermore
In the diuine resemblaunce of your face ;
Which with your vertues ye embellish more,
And natuie beauty deck with heuenlie grace :
For his, and for your owne especial sake,
Vouchsafe from him this token in good worth to take.

¹ Cambridge ed. *ut cit. supra*, p. 59.

² ll. 316-19.

³ Cambridge ed. *ut cit. supra*, p. 143.

In 'Colin Clouts Come Home Againe'¹ Spenser describes her as

In the highest place,
Urania, sister unto Astrofell,
In whose brave mynd, as in a golden cofer,
All heauenly gifts and riches locked are ;
More rich then pearles of Ynde, or gold of Opher,
And in her sex more wonderful and rare.

And in the last lines of 'Astrophel' the poet calls Lady Pembroke 'Clorinda,'

The gentlest shepheardesse that liues this day,
And most resembling both in shape and spright
Her brother deare.²

The possible relations of Lady Pembroke with that curious personage, Gabriel Harvey, challenge our interest and ingenuity. Although various thinly veiled allusions running through several of Harvey's writings strongly suggest Lady Pembroke, her identity with Harvey's 'excellent Gentlewoman' should not be asserted without qualification.³ I quote Harvey's indisputable mention of her; then several allusions that seem more than probable, even though not certain :

Come diuine Poets, . . . come Chawcer and Spencer ;
. . . Sidney and Dier ; come the dearest sister of the
dearest brother, the sweetest daughter of the sweetest

¹ Ed. cit. *supra*, p. 693, ll. 486-491.

² *Ibid.* p. 703, ll. 211-16.

³ *Works of G. Harvey*, ed. Grosart, London, 1884, Memorial. Introduction Critical, vol. 3, pp. xxiii. A. Luce, *op. cit.* p. 10.

Muses, onely One excepted, the brightest Diamant of the richest Eloquence, onely One excepted, the resplendentest mirrour of Feminine valour, onely One excepted ; the Gentlewooman of Curtesie, the Lady of vertue, the Countesse of Excellency, and the Madame of immortall Honour : ¹

This undoubtedly refers to Lady Pembroke, and we may easily suppose that Harvey, who had been the friend of her brother and of Spenser, would be able to obtain her good will also. Whether or not she actively took his part against Nashe, however, and especially whether she ever actually wrote a vindication of Harvey, we may only conjecture. Harvey writes, in ‘*Pierces Supererogation*’ : ²

Might it please his confuting Asship, by his fauourable permission to suffer One to rest quiet ; he might with my good leauie be the grañd Generall of Asses, or raigne alone in his proper dominion, like the mighty Assyrian king, euen Phul Assar himselfe, the famous son of the renowned Phul Bullochus. For so the Gentlewooman hath intituled him in a place, or two, that hath vowed the Canonization of Nashes S. Fame, in certaine Discourses of regard, already dispatched to my satisfaction, & almost accomplished to her owne intention.

Dr. Grosart suggests ³ that in Harvey’s case the wish was father to the thought, and that if the ‘Gentlewoman’ really refers to Lady Pembroke (of which Dr. Grosart himself is certain),

¹ *Pierces Supererogation*, ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 2, p. 266.
Published London, 1593.

² Ed. cit. *supra*, p. 263.

³ See note 3, preceding page.

and if she did pronounce any written opinions of Nashe, she withdrew them on second thought. At any rate Harvey informs us a little later, in ‘Pierces Supererogation,’¹ that his ‘Discourses intituled Nashes S. Fame,’ were ready for publication

as also in other Supplements thereof, especially those of the aboue-mentioned Gentlewoman, who after some aduisement it pleased, to make the Straunge Newes of the railing Villan, the cussionet of her needles, and pinnes. Though my scribblings may fortune to continue awhile, and then haue their desert, according to the laudable custome; . . . yet I dare undertake with warrant, whatsoeuer she writeth must needes remaine an immortall worke; and will leaue in the actiuest world an eternall memory of the silliest vermin, that she shall voutsafe to grace with her bewtifull, and allectiuie stile, as ingenious as elegant. . . . She hath in my knowledge read the notablest Historyes of the most-singular woomen of all ages, in the Bible, in Homer, in Virgill, (her three souerain Bookes, the diuine Archetypes of Hebrue, Greeke, and Roman Valour); in Plutarch, in Polyen, in Petrarch, in Agrippa, in Tyraquell, . . . Other woomen may yelde to Penelope: Penelope to Sappho: Sappho to Arachne: Arachne to Minerua: Minerua to Iuno: Iuno to none of her sexe: She to all that use her, and hers well; to none of any sexe, that misuse her, or hers. She is neither the noblest, nor the finest, nor the richest Lady: but the gentlest, and wittiest, and brauest, and inuinciblest Gentlewoman, that I know. Not such a wench in Europe, to unswaddle a faire Baby, or to swaddle a fowle puppy. Some of you may aime at her personage: and it is not the first

time, that I haue termed her stile, the tinsell of the daintiest Muses, and sweetest Graces: but I dare not Particularise her Description according to my conceit of her beaudesert, without her licence, or permission, that standeth upon masculine, not feminine termes; and is respectiuely to be dealt withall, in regarde of her courage rather than her fortune. And what, if she can also publish more workes in a moneth then Nash hath published in his whole life; or the pregnanteſt of our inspired Heliconists can equall? Could I dispose of her Recreations, and some other Exercises, I nothing doubt, but it were poſſible (notwithstanding the moſt-curioſe curioſtie of this age) to breed a new admiration in the minde of Contempt, . . . Yet ſhe is a wooman; and for ſome paſſions may challenge the generall Priuiledge of her ſexe, and a ſpeciall diſpensation in the cauſe of an affectionate frenđ, deuoted to the ſeruice of her exceilent deſert; whom ſhe hath found no leſſe, then the Hand-maide of Art, the miſtres of Witt, the Gentlewoman of right Gentlenesse, and the Lady of right Vertue. Howbeit euē those paſſions ſhe hath ſo ordered, and managed, with ſuſh a witty temper of violent, but aduised motions, full of ſpirite, and bloud, but as full of ſenſe and iudgement, . . . and her hoatteſt fury may fitly be reſembled to the paſſing of a braue career by a Pegasus, ruled with the reaneſ of a Mineruas bridle.

Again, in ‘A New Letter of Notable Contents,’¹ we find another allusion:

Pierces Supererogation . . . is left beholding to the penknife: *Nashes S. Fame* hath ſomewhat more of the launcelet: the Reply of *the excellent Gentlewoman* is the fine rasour, that muſt ſhaue-away euerу ranke haire of his great courage, and little wit.

¹ Published London, 1593. In edit. Grosart, cit. *supra*, vol. 1, pp. 276-82, *passim*. See also vol. 2, p. 16.

And this passage is followed by several pages of elaborate and laboured flattery.

In Harvey's sonnet 'Gorgon, or the Wonderfull Yeare,' which concludes the 'New Letter,' the 'Gentlewoman' and her rejoinder are once more mentioned.

*Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare,
With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art,
To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare,
And play the galiard Championesse part.
Though miracles surcease, yet wonder see
The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three.*

Thomas Nashe dedicated to Lady Pembroke the first edition of 'Astrophel and Stella,' published in 1591. In Nashe's preface, 'Some what to reade for them *that list*',¹ he writes :

Fayne would a seconde spring of passion heere spende it selfe on his sweet remembrance : but Religion, that rebuketh prophane lamentation, drinke in the riuers of those dispaireful teares which languourous ruth hath ouwelld, & bids me looke back to the house of honor, where, fro one & the selfe same roote of renowne, I shal find many goodly branches deriued, & such as, with the spreading increase of their vertues, may somewhat ouershadow the grieve of his los. Amongst the which, fayre sister of *Phoebus*, & eloquent secretary to the Muses, most rare Countesse of *Pembroke*, thou art not to be omitted ; whom Artes doe adore as a second *Minerua*, and our Poets extoll as the Patronesse of their inuention ; for in thee the *Lesbian Sappho* with her lirick Harpe is

¹ Thomas Nashe, London, 1904, ed. R. B. McKerrow, vol. 3, p. 331.

disgraced, & the Laurel Garlande which thy Brother so brauely aduaunst on his Launce is still kept greene in the Temple of *Pallas*. Thou only sacrificest thy soule to contemplation, thou only entertainest emptie-handed *Homer*, & keepest the springs of *Castalia* from being dried up. Learning, wisedom, beautie, and all other ornaments of Nobilitie whatsoeuer, seek to approue themselues in thy sight, and get a further seale of felicity from the smiles of this fauour :

O Ioue digna viro ni Ioue nata fores. I feare I shall be counted a mercenary flatterer, for mixing my thoughts with such figuratiue admiration, but generall report, that surpasseth my praise, condemneth my rethoricke of dulnesse for so colde a commendation.

Thomas Watson's 'Amintae Gaudia,' 1592,¹ contains the following Latin dedication to Lady Pembroke :

Illustrissimæ Heroinae omnibus et animi, et corporis dotibus ornatissimæ,

Mariæ Penbrokiae Comitissæ.

Laurigera stirpe prognata Delia, Sydnae vatis Apollinei genuina soror ; Alma literarum parens, ad cuius immaculatos amplexus, confugit virtus, barbariei et ignorantiae impetu violata, ut olim a Threicio Tyranno Philomela ; Poetarum nostri temporis, ingeniorumque omnium foelicissime pullulantum, Musa ; Dia proles, quoem rudi calamo, spiritus infundis elati furoris, quibus ipse misellus, plus mihi videor proestare posse, quam cruda nostra indoles proferre solet : Dignare

¹ Arber's *English Reprints* (London, 1870), no. 21, p. 13. Exact title : 'Amintae Gaudia, Authore Thoma Watsono, Londoninensi, juris Studioso, Londini, 1592.' Entered in Stationers' Register, November 10, 1592. Collier conjectures that Watson died in September 1592.

Posthumo huic Amyntae, ut tuo adoptius filio patrocinari: Eoque magis quod moribundus pater, illius tutelam humillime tibi legauerat. Et licet illustre nomen tuum non solum apud nos, sed exteris etiam nationes, latius propagatum est, quam aut unquam possit aeruginosa Temporis vetustate aboleri, aut mortaliū encomiis augeri, (quomodo enim quicquam possit esse infinito plus?) multorum tamen camoenis, quasi siderum diademate redimita *Ariadne*, noli hunc purum Phoebi sacerdotem, stellam alteram coronae tuae largientem, aspernari: sed animi candore, quem sator hominum, atque deorum, Iupiter, prae nobili familiae tuae quasi haerditarum alligauit, accipe et tuere. Sic nos, quorum opes tenuissimæ, littorea sunt Myrtus Veneris, Nymphæque Peneiae semper virens coma, prima quaque poematis pagina, Te Musarum dominam, in auxilium inuocabimus: tua denique virtus, quae virtutem ipsam; ipsam quoque aeternitatem superabit.

Honoris tui studiosissimus, C.M. [? Christopher Marlowe.]

Barnabe Barnes praises Lady Pembroke in the ensuing ‘Dedicatory Sonnet’¹ (? May 1593):

To the most virtuous, learned, and beautiful Lady,
Mary, Countess of Pembroke.

Pride of our English Ladies ! never matched.

Great Favourer of *Phoebus*’ offspring !

In whom, even *Phoebus* is most flourishing !

Muses chief comfort, of the muses hatched,

On whom, *Urania* hath so long time watched

In Fame’s rich Fort, with crown triumphing

Of laurel, ever green in lusty Spring.

After thy mortal pilgrimage, despatched

¹ *Poems of Barnes*, in Arber; *An English Garner* (London, 1895), vol. 5, p. 485.

Unto those planets, where thou shalt have place
 With thy late sainted Brother, to give light !
 And with harmonious spheres to turn in race.

Vouchsafe, sweet Lady, with a forehead bright,
 To shine on this poor Muse, whose first-born fruit,
 * That you (of right) would take, she maketh suit.

The old poet, Thomas Churchyard, also enumerates the virtues of Lady Pembroke in ‘A Pleasant Conceite penned in verse. Collourable sette out, and humblie presented, on New-yeeres-day last, to the Queenes Majestie, at Hampton Court. Anno Domini 1593.’¹ This poem celebrates the charms of twelve ladies of Elizabeth’s Court : the Ladies Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, Lyncolne, Kyldare, Hartford, Huntington, Woster, Southampton, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Oxford. Lady Pembroke is described as follows :

PEMBROKE a pearle, that orient is of kind,
 A *Sidney* right, shall not in silence sit ;
 A gemme more worth, then all the gold of Ind,
 For she enjoyes, the wise Minervaes wit,
 And sets to schoole, our poets everywhere :
 That doth presume the lawrell crowne to weare.
 The Muses nine, and all the Graces three :
 In *Pembroke*s bookes, and verses shall you see.

One of the most extravagant and almost absurd panegyrics of Lady Pembroke comes from the pen of Michael Drayton. In his ‘Shepheards

¹ Unique copy in Bodleian Library. Reprinted in Nichols’ *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2, B. 1-8. The verse quoted occurs on B. 5.

Garland, Fashioned in nine Eglogs,'¹ which was printed in 1593, may be found in Eglog VI the following series of verses praising her under the name of Pandora :²

Perkin

Nay stay, good Gorbo ; Vertue is not dead,
 Nor all her friends be gone which wonned here :
 She liues with one who euer held her deere,
 And to her lappe for succour she is fled :
 In her sweete bosome she hath built her nest,
 And from the world, euen there, she liues at rest.

Unto this sacred Ladie she was left
 (To be an heire-loom) by her ancestrie,
 And so bequeathed by their legacie,
 When on their death-bed life was them bereft ;
 And as on earth together they remayne,
 Together so in heauen they both shall raigne.

O thou Pandora ! through the world renoun'd,
 The glorious light, and load-starre of our West ;
 With all the vertues of the heauens possest,
 With mighty groues of holy Lawrell cround,
 Erecting learnings long decayed fame,
 Heryed and hallowed be thy sacred name.

The flood of Helicon, forspent and drie,
 Her sourse decayd with foule obliuion,
 The fountaine flowes againe in thee alone,
 Where Muses now their thirst may satisfie ;
 And old Apollo, from Parnassus hill,
 May in this spring refresh his droughty quill.

¹ *Poems by Michael Drayton*, ed. by J. Payne Collier. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1856, pp. 61-145.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 97-101.

The Graces, twisting garlands for thy head,
 Thy Iuorie temples deckt with rarest flowers,
 Their rootes refreshed with diuinest showers,
 Thy browes with mirtle all inueloped,
 shepheards erecting trophies to thy praise,
 lauding thy name in songs and heauenly laies.

Sapphos sweete vaine in thy rare quill is seene,
 Minerua was a figure of thy worth,
 Mnemosine, who brought the Muses forth,
 Wonder of Britaine, learnings famous Queene,
 Appollo was thy Syer, Pallas her selfe thy mother,
 Pandora thou, our Phoebus was thy brother.

Delicious Larke, sweete musick of the morrow,
 Cleere bell of Rhetoricke ringing peales of loue ;
 Ioy of the Angels, sent us from aboue,
 Enchanfing Syren, charmer of all sorrow,
 the loftie subiect of a heauenly tale,
 Thames fairest Swanne, our summers Nightingale.

Arabian Phenix, wonder of thy sexe,
 Louely, chaste, holy, Myracle admired,
 With spirit from the highest heauen inspired,
 Oh ! thou alone, whome fame alone respects,
 Natures chiefe glory, learnings richest prize,
 hie Joues Empresa, vertues Paradize.

Oh ! glorie of thy nation, beauty of thy name,
 Ioy of thy countrey, blesser of thy birth,
 Thou blazing Comet, Angel of the earth,
 Oh ! Poets Goddesse, sun-beame of their fame ;
 Whome time through many worlds hath sought to find,
 thou peeries Paragon of woman kinde.

Thy glorious Image gilded with the sunne,
 Thy lockes adorn'd with an immortall crowne,
 Mounted aloft upon a Chrystal throne,
 When by thy death thy life shalbe begun,
 the blessed Angels tuning to the spheres,
 with Gods sweete musick charme thy sacred eares.

This amazing strain continues through seven more similar stanzas. The eglog is then concluded by another shepherd, Gorbo, who says :

Long may Pandora weare the Lawrell crowne
 The ancient glory of her noble Peers ;
 And as the Egle, Lord, renew her yeeres,
 Long to upholde the proppe of our renowne :
 long may she be, as she hath euer beene,
 the lowly handmaide of the Fayrie Queene.

In a later edition Drayton added—after the line

Pandora thou, our Phoebus was thy brother—

one more stanza :

Sister sometime she to that shepheard was,
 That yet for piping neuer had his peere,
 Elphin, that did all other swayns surpassee,
 To whom she was of liuing things most deare ;
 And on his deathbed, by his latest will,
 To her bequeath'd the secrets of his skill.¹

The influence upon this poem of ‘The Shepherd’s Calendar’ is of course unmistakable. I have quoted it at such great length because it is

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, p. 137 note.

an excellent example of this type of extravagant, eulogistical poetry.

To her, also, in 1593, Thomas Morley, 'Batchelor of Musick, and One of the Gent. of Her Majesty's Royall Chappell,' offered his book of 'Canzonets, or little short songs to Three Voices.' A copy of these songs, with the music to which they were to be sung, may be found among the manuscripts of the British Museum.¹ To them is prefixed the following elaborate and conventionally graceful letter of dedication :

To the Most Rare & Accomplished Lady, The Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke.

Most excellent Lady, give me leave to take this simple occasion of presenting my Humble Devotion to honour you ; and if boldness in itself be not too great a fault pardon and forgive the same ; since the cause thereof in me being diverse from that in other men ; doth in all right crave a most kind & favourable interpretation. For whereas they do dedicate with hope of after benefit : so far am I from this that Your Ladyship in accepting this of me doth bind me to you and I in giving therof do infinitely thank you for the same. Not so much because hereby I shall make known the greatness of your deserts to me ; as that now I shall make known to the world mine own judgment in this my choice : nor so much shew you worthy to receive ; as myself wise thus to give ; nor yet bind you any way so much to me by this gift : as I shall bind myself to myself by this acknowledgement. Receive then (most worthy

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS. 23, 625.* Copied in score by John Barrow of the Chapel Royal. Paper ; eighteenth century. Quarto. (The spelling was altered, doubtless, by the eighteenth-century copyist.)

Lady) these simple gifts, worthy to be receiv'd ; even of the greatest Princes the world hath (not because they are mine, but because now they are yours) to which if at any time Your Ladyship shall but vouchsafe your heav'ly voice : it cannot be but they will so return perfumed with the sweetness of that breath, as the Air will be made even delightfull thereby, and for that cause come to be in request & sought for ever after. Upon which assurance resting myself, I humbly take my leave in all reverence kissing Your Honourable Hands ; Unto your Ladyship Devoted in all affection

THOMAS MORLEY.

In ' Polimanteia, . . . whereunto is added, A letter from England to her three daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all the rest of her inhabitants,' written by ' W. C.' and published at Cambridge in 1595,¹ Lady Pembroke is likewise mentioned.

Oxford thou maist extoll thy court-deare-verse happie Daniell, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosemond*, pittie to distressed *Cleopatra*, and euer-liuing praise to her louing *Delia* :

[Marginal note.] *Wanton Adonis. Watsons heyre.* So well graced *Anthonie* deserueth immortall praise from the hand of that diuine Lady who like Colinna [sic : Corinna ?] contending with Pindarus was oft victorious.²

' That diuine Lady ' refers undoubtedly to Lady Pembroke, of whose translation of ' Antonie '

¹ Reprinted by Grosart, A.B., *Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books*, 1881, vol. 15, p. 45.

² R. 3, recto.

the second edition had appeared in that year. The only clue to the authorship of 'Polimanteia' is found in the Epistle Dedicatore, which is signed W. C. Thomson, in 'Athenæ Cantab.,' ascribes these initials to William Clerke, who, in June 1575, was master of Trinity College, and this ascription may be accepted in fault of a better.

In Francis Meres' 'A Comparative Discourse of Our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets,' in 'Palladis Tamia,'¹ Lady Pembroke is characterised as a patroness of poetry.

Octauia, sister unto Augustus the Emperour, was exceedingly bountiful unto Virgil, who gaue him for making 26 verses, 1,137 pounds, to wit, *tenne sestertiæ* for euerie verse . . . : so learned Mary, the honourable Countesse of Pembrook, the noble sister of immortall Sir Philip Sidney, is very liberall unto Poets; besides shee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho,

*Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,
Quæsiuit decima Pieris unde foret.*

Aubrey mentions² 'The learned Dr. Mouffet that wrote of Insects and of Meates,' and adds that this scholar was a pensioner at Wilton. In 'The Silkewormes and their Flies,'³ a poem by

¹ *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*, London, 1598. Reprinted in G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 308-25. Text that of Bodleian copy.

² *Natural History of Wiltshire*. See p. 38 note i.

³ 'The Silkewormes and their Flies: Liuely described in verse by T. M. a Countrie Farmar, and an apprentice in Physicke.'

this gentleman, Thomas Moffatt (or Muffett, or Mouffet), Lady Pembroke is described as one ‘who neuer yet on meanest scholler frowned.’ He describes her further as ‘the most renowned Patronesse and noble Nurse of learning,’ and refers to her industry in literary labours upon ‘Arcadia,’ and to her translations from Petrarch and the Psalms.

Great enuies object, Worth and Wisedoms pride,
 Natures delight, Arcadias heire most fitte,
 Vouchsafe a while to lay thy taske aside
 Let Petrarke sleep, giue rest to Sacred Writte :
 Or bowe or string will breake, if euer tied ;
 Some little pawse aideth the quickest witte :

One of the prettiest and most characteristic of these obscure poetical tributes to Lady Pembroke is ‘A new-yeares : Guifte : made upon certen Flowers,’ by William Smithe. This ‘posie’ is preserved among the manuscripts of the British Museum¹ and—from its handwriting, style, and spelling—is evidently to be ascribed to the end of the 16th century. It was presented ‘To the righte noble, honorable, and the Singular good

. . . London, 1599.’ Described by J. P. Collier in his *Bibliog. and Crit. Acct.*, ed. of 1866, vol. 2, pp. 335–6. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives Moffatt’s dates as 1553–1604. The identification of ‘T. M.’ as Thomas Moffatt is effected by an allusion in a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, March 1, 1599. *State Papers Domestic*, 1599. See also the mention of ‘Dr. Muffet,’ as the author of this poem, in Baxter’s *Ourania*. Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, vol. 55, p. 220.

¹ *Brit. Mus. MS. 35, 186.*

Ladie, the Countesse of Pembroke,' and opens with the usual lines of elaborate compliment :

It is a saying treu, and that of oulde,
 Dutie, and zeale, can neuer bee to boulde,
 Throughe. w^h: My Muse presumes to offer you,
 Althoughe unknownen, yet dutious loue, and trewe :
 Wishing your honors, may still with. vertue. runne,
 And liue, for length (euen to outstripp the sunne :
 Your pietie, bee such, that you may charme,
 The highest Heaun's, to guarde you from all harme.
 Liue longe, and prosper still, and let your eies,
 behoulde all happynes : who otherwise,
 shall wish, The Ruler of the Earthe,
 shall cause, that hee hymself, shall curse his Birthc.
 Thus I deuine, the keeper of the skies,
 shall still protect you, from your enemies.

Your ho: Ladyshippes.

deuoted seruante

Will'm: smithe.

Then, after a few more lines of introduction, also in verse, follow the separate 'flowers' of the 'posie.' Although these verses are immeasurably less finished than those of Herrick, there is something about them that strongly suggests the spirit of Herrick. I quote the whole 'posie,' since it is meant to be read as a whole. It is written in a beautiful hand, each 'flower' on a separate folio [*recto*] with a border in pen and ink around it. At some later binding the folios must have been misplaced, as 'Time' is evidently meant to come last, and 'The Rose' third in the series.

[f. 4.]

I have no lande therefore the fertile earthe,
Affordes mee nothing unto you to presente :
The Flowers, I offer, in my braine had Birthe,
They wante sweete smells, yet may they yeeld content :
 for eie, or Nose, small pleasure they do beare,
 they have theire being, but to please the eare.

[f. 5.]

THE PRIMEROSE.

The Primerose. is the faire Spring's harbinger,
And first sweete flower the wealthie Earth : doth yeeld,
After the Heaun's, haue newlie crown'd the yeare,
No flower appeares, before it, in the feelde :
 So : in trew worthe, and vertue, I do finde,
 You are the firste, the rest come lagg behinde.

[f. 6.]

THE MARYGOULD. 2.

The marigoulde. unto the newyeares Sunne
Doth spreade it self : like the eye spotted traine,
Of Junoes Birde, But his daies iourney doone
In discontent, Shee shrowdes hir cheecks againe :
 So : your brighte faours shine
 Do make mee spreade :
 But your least showe of frowens,
 Do strike mee deade.

[f. 7.]

THE GILLYFLOWER.

The Gillyflower hath an oderiferous smell,
And beares an intermingled pretie hew,
but whether the carnation or it doth most excell
for showe, and coler, that I leauie to you :
 Even so I knowe not, whether yo^r: honor. or your Face
 Both sett togeather, Giues the greater grace.

[f. 8.]

THE VIOLETT.

The violet doth growe in groue or feeldes,
 In hedges, or in gardens, or high waies,
 But whereso'ere it growes, it pleasure yeeldes :
 So : where I come, I allwaies finde yo^r: praise,
 Your name, and vertue too, all people heare
 and touch with wounder, euerie common care.

[f. 9.]

THE COWSLIPP.

The Cowslipp. doth couer all the feeldes,
 With purp'led state : all ritchlie beautified,
 For then Dame Flora mickle pleasure yeelds,
 all smelling flowers : most heau'nly glorified :
 So : your ritch vertues, dispers'd both farr and neare,
 make all your honors shine, your name full deare.

[f. 10.]

TIME.

Time is no flower, but an hearbe of grace,
 more pretious, then the pearles on libyan shore
 Who gathers Time. sure planted in his place :
 shall finde, all heauenly sentes, In heau'ns faire Bower
 In w^{ch} faire Garden : the seate of Glorious rest :
 God graunte your Soule, with Saintcs may e're bee blest.

[f. 11.]

THE ROSE. 3. F.

The Garden's beautie, the flagrant smellinge ROSE.
 Doth daigne amongst the lowlie weedes to growe,
 And doth by humblenes, no glorie loose,
 but smells with sweeter sente, by growing lowe :
 So : you faire ROSE OF HONOR I, haue harde,
 Doth wish goodwill, the least desert regarde.

In Charles Fitzgeoffrey's 'Affaniæ,'¹ printed in 1601, Lady Pembroke is the subject of a compli-

¹ *Caroli Fitzgeoffridi Affaniæ: sine Epigrammatum; libri tres; Eiusdem Cenotaphia. . . . Oxoniæ, 1601, lib. iii. pp. 107-8.* Reprinted by Grosart, in *Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books*, 1881, vol. 16, Introd. p. xviii.

mentary poem in Latin—‘Ad Illustrissimam Heroinam Mariam Pembrochiae Comitissam’—in which the usual charms and virtues are ascribed to her.

Sydnaei genuina soror, prosapia cœli,
 Filia sed Phæbi, Phæbi genūmq : parens !
 O quam te memorem ! *Venerem* ? at tu castior illâ
 Illaq : te, quovis judice, pulchra minus,
 Calliopea ? verum Musarum illa unica tantum,
 Musæ omnes insunt sed tibi, Diva, novem,
 Euphrosinem ? verum illa etiam *Charis* unica tantum,
 Mille tuis ludunt luminibus *Charites*.
Pallada ? sed Iovis e cerebro nisi nata fuisset
 E cerebro nasci debuit illa tuo.
 Ergo quis es ? *Maria es*, quo dici nomine gaudent
Pallas & Euphrosyne, *Calliope*, atq : *Venus*.

Nathaniel Baxter’s ‘Sir Philip Sydney’s Ourania’ (1606) is also dedicated to Lady Pembroke. I quote the account of this dedication, to be found in Corser’s ‘Collectanea Anglo-Poetica.’¹ A double sonnet offers the poem ‘To his euer-honored Lady and Mistris Arcadian Cynthia, Maria Pembrokiana,’ in which, under the names of Astrophil and Cynthia, Sir Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke are figured. . . .

¹ Chetham Society Publications, vol. 55, pp. 216–23. The complete notice of the book is as follows : ‘B(axter), N(athaniel), Sir Philip Sydneys Ourania. That is, Endimions Song and Tragedie, containing all Philosophie. Written by N. B. 4to London, Printed by Ed. Alld. for Edward White, and are to be sold at the little North doore of Saint Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1606.’ Hunter proves (*New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 355) that N. B. must have been Nathaniel Baxter, a clergyman and former tutor of Sidney. The poem had previously been assigned to Nicholas Breton.

After this is a metrical epistle 'To the Right Honourable and vertuous Ladies the La. Katherine Countesse of Huntington: the Ladie Mary Countesse of Pembrooke: the Ladies Susan Countesse of Mongomrie: and the Lady Barbara Viscountess Lisle, wife to the noble Knight Sir Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle . . .'

The *Ourania*, which is a philosophical poem treating of the universe, 'and whatsoeuer may therein be found,' is written in heroic rhyming couplets, and is preceded by a poem in seven-line stanzas.

This poem contains allusions to various contemporary personages, authors, and books, as well as to the writer himself, as 'Endymion,' and to the circumstances of his life. I copy the description of Cynthia and her attendant ladies (already mentioned in the dedications).

Renowned *Cynthia* glorie of thy Sexe,
For learning had in admiration :
The shine of whose illustrious reflexe
May dazzle wits of high inuention :
Diuine Mistresse of Elocution,
Pardon poore Shepheards rude, and worthlesse Rymes,
Not such as were the Layes of olderne Tymes.

Rare is thy skill, in mightie Poesie :
Whom Poets Laureat crowne, with lasting Bayes,
In Songs of neuer dying Memorie,
Such as great *Homer* sung in former dayes :
When he with Hymnes, did chaste *Cassandra* praise.
O let me liue, I pray thee, on this Hill,
And tune in Country sort my crazed Quill.

She engages to become his patroness, and encourages him to undertake some higher strain. . . . This he obediently consents to do and enters on the subject of his 'Ourania.'

A Subject fit for *Sydney's* eloquence,
High *Chaucer's* vaine, and *Spencer's* influence.

At the close of this introductory poem, the shepherd Endymion meets the shade of Astrophil. Astrophil asks :

Art thou (quoth he) my Tutor Tergaster ?¹
He answered, yea : such was my happy chaunce.
I griue (quoth *Astrophill*) at thy disaster :
But fates denie me learning to aduance.
Yet *Cynthia* shall afford thee maintenance.
My dearest Sister, keepe my Tutor well,
For in his element he doth excell.

Among the epigrams of Sir John Stradling,² published in 1607, is one addressed to Mary, Countess of Pembroke.

Ad Illustriss. D. *Mariam Comitissam Pembr.*
Sydnæi tu ter magni soror alma Philippi,
Magna viro, maior fratre, minore licet :
Hic animæ non parua tuæ, tu maxima et eius
Pars viuis, moritur cum tamen ille tibi.
Quis vestrum, num cui superest pars maxima, viuit ?
Plus viuit frater, viuis & ipsa minus.

¹ *Tergaster*, according to Hunter, is a sportive name, i.e. *Backster* or *Baxter*.

² Ioannis Stradlingi, *Epigrammatum, Libri Quatuor*: Londini, 1607, p. 68.

Lady Pembroke again appears, among a group of learned, virtuous, and fashionable ladies, in the dedication to 'Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum,'¹ written by Mistris Aemilia Lanyer, wife to Captaine Alfonso Lanyer, Servant to the King's Majestie; and published in London, in 1611. This work is a religious poem, of 230 eight-line stanzas, in which, according to Corser,

the devotion and piety of the writer are superior to her poetical powers and genius. . . . Of the author of this work, we are ignorant of any particulars. Whether her husband was related to Nicholas Laneare or Lanyer, the musician and painter, of Italian birth, is not improbable. . . . Her maiden name is unknown, but she appears to have been noticed, and held in estimation, by several of the highest nobility of that time.

Prefixed to the volume are eleven metrical addresses to various ladies. One of these is 'The Author's Dreame, to the Ladie Marie, the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke.' Complete copies of this book are very rare.² Corser quotes a part of the

¹ Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Chetham Society, vol. 108, pp. 346-55. The further description of the book is 'Salve Deus Rex Judæorum. Containing (1). The Passion of Christ. (2). Eues Apologie in defence of Women. (3). The Teares of the Daughters of Ierusalem. (4). The Salutation and Sorrow of the Virgine Marie. With diuers other things not unfit to be read. Written by Mistris Aemilia Lanyer, Wife to Captaine Alfonso Lanyer, Seruant to the Kings Majestie. At London. . . . 1611. 4to.'

² The British Museum copy lacks the address to Lady Pembroke.

address to Lady Pembroke. It concerns her version of the Psalms, and refers to Philip Sidney.

He trayld along the woods in wanton wise,
With sweet delight to entertain them all,
Inuiting them to sit and to deuise
On holy hymmes : at last to mind they call

Those rare sweet songs which *Israels* King did frame
Unto the Father of Eternitie ;
Before his holy wisedome tooke the name
Of great *Massias*, Lord of unitie.

Those holy Sonnets they did all agree
With this most louely Lady here to sing ;
That by her noble breasts sweet harmony,
Their musicke might in eares of Angels ring.

While Saints like Swans about this siluer brook
Should *Hallelu-iah* sing continually,
Writing her praises in th'eternall booke,
Of endlesse honour, true fames memorie.

Thus I in sleep the heauenli'st musicke hard
That euer earthly cares did entertaine ;
And durst not wake, for feare to be debard
Of what my sences sought still to retaine.

Yet sleeping, praied dull slumber to unfold
Her noble name who was of all admired :
When presently in drowsie tearmes he told
Not onely that, but more than I desired.

This nymph, quoth he, great *Pembroke* hight by name
Sister to valiant *Sidney*, whose cleare light
Giues light to all that tread true paths of fame,
Who in the globe of heau'n doth shine so bright ;

That being dead, his fame doth him suruiue,
 Still liuing in the heartes of worthy men :
 Pale Death is dead, but he remaines aliue,
 Whose dying wounds restor'd him life agen.

And this faire earthly goddesse which you see,
Bellona and her virgins doe attend ;
 In virtuous studies of Diuinitie,
 Her pretious time continually doth spend.

So that a Sister well shee may be deem'd
 To him that liu'd and di'd so nobly
 And farre before him is to be esteem'd
 For virtue, wisedome, learning, dignity.

Whose beauteous soule hath gaind a double life,
 Both here on earth, and in the heau'ns aboue,
 Till dissolution end all worldly strife :
 Her blessed spirit remaines of holy loue.

John Davies of Hereford, in a dedicatory sonnet,¹ acknowledges his literary obligations to Lady Pembroke herself, her daughter, ‘Ladie Anne,’ and her ‘son Philipp.’ He also offers her additional praise in two whimsical and characteristic sonnets in ‘Wittes Pilgrimage.’²

In his dedicatory epistle to ‘The Muse’s Sacrifice’ (1612)³ Lady Pembroke, who is grouped with the Countesse of Bedford, and Elizabeth, Lady Cary, is described by Davies as

¹ *Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Grosart. Chertsey Worthies’ Library, Edinburgh, 1878, 2 vols., vol. I, c. p. 97.

² *Ibid.* vol. 2, h. pp. 38–9.

³ *Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, cit. *supra*, I, p. 4.

PEMBROKE, (a Paragon of Princely Parts,
and, of that Part that most commends the Muse,
Great Mistresse of her Greatnesse, and the Arts,)
Phoebus and Fate make great, and glorious.

In one of Davies' epigrams 'To Worthy Persons'¹ some fantastic lines may be found, apparently intended to accompany a book addressed

To the right noble, iuditious and ingenious sister of
the neuer-too-much renowned Sir Philip Sidney, Mary,
Countesse Dowager of Pembroke.

The epigram concludes thus :

Why then (great Lady) I am hee
That (maugre Fate) was, is and still will bee
The triton of your praise,
I. D.

Dr. John Donne (?1573-1631), in his poem 'Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sydney and the Countess of Pembroke his sister,'² compliments the translation, and alludes to the famous brother and sister as Moses and Miriam.

In Henry Holland's 'Herwologia Anglica,'³

¹ Ed. cit. *supra*, *The Scourge of Folly* (London, 1611), vol. 2, k. p. 63. (Date assigned by Dr. Grosart.)

² *John Donne. The Muses' Library.* Ed. E. D. Chambers. London, 1901, vol. 1, p. 188.

There seems to be no way of assigning a precise date to this poem. Chambers considers that none of Donne's poems were published, probably, before 1614.

³ Holland, Henry, *Herwologia Anglica* (London, 1620), tom. 2, p. 116 (pagination continuous).

published at London in 1620, may be found a life of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, which contains the following description of Lady Pembroke :

Uxorem duxit Mariam unicam filiam illustrissimi Henrici Sydneij insignis periselidis ordinis Equitis, quae illustris Comitissa adhuc vivit (& vivat precor diu) Musarum Religionis & Doctrinæ decus et præsidium.

‘The Countesse of Mountgomeries Eusebeia,’¹ by Robert Newton (London, 1620), which is assigned by Miss Alice Luce to Lady Pembroke, must have been meant, primarily, for her daughter-in-law, Susan, wife of Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. Lady Pembroke never had the title ‘Countess of Montgomery.’ If we turn, however, to the dedicatory page of this highly religious work, we find that the author meant to lose no possible advantage by failing to mention any member of the Pembroke family. The book is offered [A3 recto]

To that noble root of honour and vertue, the Lady Mary, Countesse of Pembroke, and her Illustrious Branches, William, Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine to his Maiestie, [A3 verso] Philip, Earle of Montgomery, with their Honourable Ladies, Mary, Countesse of Pembroke, Susan, Countesse of Mountgomery, and

¹ *The / Countesse / of / Mountgomeries / Eusebeia : / Expressing briefly, / The Soules / Praying / Robes.* By Ro. Newton [of Gretford.] / Vignette. Printed at London by George Purslow, / for A. G. 1620.

her Vertuous Honourable Sisters ; Elizabeth, Countesse of Darbie, and Bridget, Lady Norris.

One hopes that the results were financially profitable.

Henry Lok, in ‘Extra Sonnets,’¹ compares Lady Pembroke to her brother Philip :

To the Right Honorable the Countesse of Pembroke.

Your name, your matche, your vertues, honour gaine,
 But not the least that pregnancie of spright,
 Whereby you equall honor do attain,
 To that extinguisht lamp of heavenly light,
 Who now no doubt doth shine midst angels bright,
 While your faire starre makes clear our darkened sky.
 He Heaven’s ; Earth’s comfort you are and delight,
 Whose—more than mortall—gifts you do apply,
 To serve their Giver and your guider’s grace
 Whose share in this my work hath greatest place.

Several poems on her pictures remain : most important, the lines by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, or Rudier :²

Here, though the lustre of her youth be spent,
 Are curious steps to see where beauty went,
 And for the wonders in her mind that dwell,
 It lyes not in the power of pens to tell.
 But could she but bequeath them when she dyes,
 She might enrich her sex by legacies.

¹ *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies’ Library*, ed. Grosart, vol. 2, p. 374.

² Poems written by the Right Honorable William, Earl of Pembroke, and Benjamin Rudier, Knight, London, 1660. See also Collier, *Bibliog. and Critical Acct.* ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 3, p. 181.

Daniel Rogers, poet and diplomatist (?1538–1591), also wrote some lines ‘To the portrait of Mary Sidney, wife of the Earl of Pembroke.’¹ Most diverting of all these personal tributes, however, is John Taylor’s² sonnet on Lady Pembroke’s skill as a needle-woman. This is number five, in a sort of sonnet series, called ‘The Needles Excellency.’³ Each one is devoted to a different great lady. The one addressed to Lady Pembroke must have been written after her death, as we see from the lines of the title :

*To the Right Honourable, vertuous, and learned
Lady, Mary, late Countesse of Pembroke.*

A patterne & a patronesse she was,
Of vertuous industry, and studious learning :
And she her earthly pilgrimage did passe
In acts, which were high honour most concerning.
Braue Wilton-house in Wiltshire well can show,
Her admirable workes in Arras framed :
Where men, and beasts, scene-like, trees seeme to grow,
And Art (surpassed by Nature) seemes ashamed.

¹ *Epigrammatum*, liber 3, in a book of Latin poems by Daniel Rogers. Preserved in the library of the Marquis of Hereford. Calendared in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission for 1874, vol. 4.

² I have assumed that this must be the ‘Water Poet,’ whose dates are 1580–1653.

³ Printed in Sir S. Egerton Brydges’ *Censura Literaria*, London, 1805 (10 vols.), vol. 2, p. 370. A still better account may be found in Corser’s *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, vol. 108, pp. 292–95. John Taylor’s works have since been printed in the *Spencer Society Publications*, vols. 2–4. The only copy which Corser had ever seen was one of the twelfth edition, dated 1640. There is no way of telling precisely when this sonnet was written.

Thus this renowned honourable dame,
Her happy time most happily did spend :
Whose worth recorded in the mouth of fame
(Untill the world shall end) shall neuer end.
She wrought so well in needle-worke that she,
Nor yet her workes, shall ere forgotten be.

Much that would be interesting, and much that might prove untrue, could be conjectured about Lady Pembroke's possible literary connections with the dramatists of her famous age. One thing seems evident, that, to her, drama was less interesting and important than other forms of poetry. Many of the poets whom she countenanced and subsidised are, to our modern view, as mediocre of their kind as the most mediocre and extravagant dramatist of the time. That the dramatic taste both of Lady Pembroke and of her brother Philip was purely classical may not be doubted. Sidney definitely condemns the irregularities of the romantic drama ; praising and preferring that which 'clymes' to 'the height of Seneca his stile.'¹ Lady Pembroke translates and publishes Garnier's 'Antonie,' a French tragedy after the Senecan model. Samuel Daniel dedicates to her his 'Cleopatra' (1594), a tragedy undoubtedly written at Lady Pembroke's suggestion,² and closely imitating, in its structure and

¹ *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595). Ed. E. S. Shuckburgh, Cambridge, 1891, pp. 51-2.

² *Works of Samuel Daniel*, ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 4, pp. 35-6.

style, both the English translation and the French original.

It is also significant that there are no positive records of Lady Pembroke's ever having aided or promoted the drama. She must, for example, have known—in her later years, at any rate—all about Philip Massinger, whose father, Arthur Massinger, was for years a kind of secretary and trusted agent of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Philip Massinger's age was almost the same as that of Lady Pembroke's own son, Philip. The latter, indeed, and his older brother, William, seem in their later lives to have lent some assistance and protection to Massinger;¹ but there is nothing to show that their mother ever gave countenance—financial or otherwise—to that gifted but needy and reckless youth.²

Miss Luce surmises that Lady Pembroke knew and aided Thomas Kyd, who—in 1594 or earlier—translated and published Garnier's 'Cornélie':³

¹ Gardiner, *Political Elements in Massinger*, *Contemporary Review*, August 1876.

² It is true that John Ford's *Honor Triumphant* (London, 1606) is dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, and to the Countess of Montgomery. (*Vide John Ford*, ed. Gifford and Dyce, London, 1869, vol. 3, p. 339.) These titles clearly refer, however, to the young wives of Lady Pembroke's sons, whose titles were respectively Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Montgomery. William, third Earl of Pembroke, evidently had more liking for the romantic drama than had his mother.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 47.

It was probably owing to the popularity of *Antonie* in select circles, that Thomas Kyd, probably in 1594, but possibly earlier, translated the *Cornélie* of Garnier, which was issued a second time with changed title-page in 1595. The play is dedicated to the Countess of Sussex, the aunt of Lady Pembroke. Kyd's pathetic dedication, in which he complains of 'afflictions of the mind and bitter times and priuy broken passions,' shows that he was then in great distress, and it is highly probable that *Cornélie* was translated to gain the patronage of that circle where *Antonie* was then read and admired.

Whether or not Lady Pembroke knew Shakspere has also been a matter for lively speculation. The dedication of the First Folio (1623) is to her two sons, William and Philip, 'the most noble and incomparable pair of brethren,' who had 'prosequuted' the plays 'and their author living with so much favor.' But this might of course indicate that the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery visited and approved of the Globe Theatre and its activities, even though their mother did not.

The conjecture that the 'Mr. W. H.' of Shakspere's 'Sonnets' refers to Lady Pembroke's son, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, has led to many astonishing suppositions. The lines in Shakspere's third sonnet,

Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee
Calls back the lovely April of her prime,

have been explained as referring to Lady Pembroke. But the passing, in more modern scholarship, of

this identification, renders all of these theories unconvincing.

Before closing this chapter, I shall attempt a brief sketch of one more disputed point : the authorship of the famous epitaph of Lady Pembroke, and the present opinion of authorities on the question.

William Browne of Tavistock, as he is usually called (1591? to 1643?), wrote two elegies of Lady Pembroke, or, to speak more correctly, an elegy and an epitaph. The elegy, in 178 lines, riming couplets, contains some fine passages, although as a whole it is rather uneven. The opening line,

Time hath a long course run since thou wert clay ;¹
seems to imply that the poem was composed
some time after Lady Pembroke's death in
1621.

Anthony à Wood states that Browne was at one period in the service of the Herberts, at Wilton ; and he evidently belonged to Lady Pembroke's literary circle at one time or another. The epitaph upon Lady Pembroke, and the controversy concerning its authorship, are too well known to need an elaborate discussion here. I shall merely try to state the case, and to summarise present scholarly opinion on the subject. I

¹ *Poems of William Browne*, ed. Goodwin. The Muses' Library (London, 1894), vol. 2, pp. 248, 294, and *note*, p. 350.

quote Mr. Goodwin's account of the MS. sources of Browne's poems.¹

Among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 777) in the British Museum is a collection of poems by Browne, dated 1650, but apparently made a few years earlier, which was first printed by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges at the Lee Priory Press in 1805, and reprinted in 1869 by Mr. Hazlitt. Another middle seventeenth century MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains two poems by Browne, the epitaph on Anne Prideaux (six lines), and that on the Countess of Pembroke (twelve lines), both of which, however, are in the Lansdowne MS. . . .

In the Dublin MS. the form of the lines is exactly the same, and they are there signed 'William Browne.' They appear to have been first printed in Osborne's *Traditionall Memoirs on the Reign of King James*, in 1658 (p. 78), and were also included in the *Poems* of the Countess's son, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in 1660 (p. 66); but in neither volume is there any indication of the authorship. Writing about the same time Aubrey, in his *Natural History of Wiltshire* (ed. Britton, 1847, p. 90), cited the first sextain, and stated that the verses were 'made by Mr. Browne, who wrote the *Pastorals*.' But in 1756 Peter Whalley printed a garbled version of the first six lines in his edition of Ben Jonson's *Works* (vi. 297), giving as his reason that they were 'universally assigned' to Jonson, and they appear in all editions of Jonson since Whalley's time, and are commonly attributed to him. The epitaph is certainly more effective as a single sextain; and Mr. Hazlitt suggests that 'whoever composed the original sextain, the addition is the work of another pen, namely, Lord Pembroke's.' Still it must be remembered that Browne has occasionally marred his work by not knowing when to stay his hand,

¹ Ed. cit. *Editor's Note*, vol. 1, p. xi, and vol. 2 *note*, p. 350.

and the epitaph, as it appears in the Lansdowne and Dublin MSS., reflects him at his best and at his worst.

It may be worth noting that Browne thus pointedly refers to this very epitaph in his *Elegy on Charles, Lord Herbert of Cardiff and Shurland* (p. 257), which is written in the same metre :

‘ And since my weak and saddest verse
Was worthy thought thy grandam’s herse ;
Accept of this ! ’

The variants of the Trinity College MS. are ‘ killed ’ for ‘ slain ’ (l. 4), and ‘ his dart ’ for ‘ a dart ’ (l. 6).

More than one mistake has been made in the later transcriptions of these oft-quoted lines. In a version given by Ballard¹ (1775), we find the original exactly reproduced, according to the reading of the Dublin MS. Edmund Lodge, however, gives the following reading :²

(l. 1) Underneath this *marble* hearse, and (l. 5) *Wise*,
and fair, and good as she.

Lodge attributes the poem to Ben Jonson. Mr. Sidney Lee, in his article on Lady Pembroke in the ‘ Dictionary of National Biography,’ reprints, curiously enough, this version, and defends Ben Jonson’s authorship.³

¹ *Memoirs of British Ladies*, by George Ballard (London, 1775), pp. 183–7.

² *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* (London, 1821), art. *Mary Herbert*.

³ The monograph on this subject (Philip Sidney, *The Subject of All Verse* : H. Frowde, London, 1907) is pleasant enough reading; but not very scholarly.

Professor J. B. Fletcher's fascinating essays, 'Did Astrophel Love Stella?' and 'Précieuses at the Court of Charles I.',¹ open up the whole question of Lady Pembroke's relation to the Platonistic ideas and fashions of her time, ideas and fashions which—in so far as they took root in England—illustrate one more phase of Italian and French influence on the social and intellectual side of the age of Elizabeth. In Lady Pembroke's literary tastes—her love of books, and her beneficence toward men of letters—we seem to see the characters of a typical lady of rank in the Renaissance. According to Professor Fletcher²

The function of the 'society' platonique of the period was twofold: (1) to influence, through intimate relations, a particular servant; (2) to diffuse her influence more formally through a coterie of 'servants.'

Now Lady Pembroke most assuredly 'received poetic incense from a coterie of Elizabethan writers,'³ but whether she had a *chevalier intime* to play a part similar to that played by her brother Philip to Lady Rich there is no means of asserting. No sonnet-sequence, in which Lady Pembroke figures darkly as the Stella or the Delia to some platonising noble lord of her circle, remains to commemorate any such relation. Even the gossip of that age, or a later one, suggests only

¹ Fletcher, J. B., *The Religion of Beauty in Woman, and Other Essays on Platonic Love in Poetry and Society*, N.Y. 1911.

² Fletcher, *op. cit.* p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*

inconclusively that she affected any intimate platonic relations, either in their better or their worse forms. When Aubrey informs us, for example,¹ that

This subtile old earle [Lady Pembroke's father-in-law] did foresee that his faire and witty daughter-in-law would horne his sonne and told him so and advised him to keepe her in the countrey and not to let her frequent the court,

we may still feel sure that if the young girl's own temperament had not made her contented with the life that she herself created at Wilton, no amount of marital restraint could have done so. Nor even when Aubrey tells us further that 'One of her great gallants was crooke-back't Cecill, earl of Salisbury,'² is there any reliable ground for the conjecture that Cecil was ever a platonic 'servant' of Lady Pembroke's. In all of the documents relating to her, moreover, the letters accredited to Lady Pembroke by Sir Tobie Mathew alone contain a use of the word 'servant' that is definitely platonic in its context.³

After a fairly prolonged study of Lady Pembroke's life and character, I myself am convinced that her temper was essentially—and in the very

¹ *Brief Lives*, ed. cit. *supra*, vol. 1, p. 310.

² *Ibid.* p. 311. I forbear to quote the obscene anecdote with which Aubrey accompanies this passage. According to Aubrey's editor, Mr. Andrew Clark, Aubrey had a personal pique against the house of Herbert.

³ See p. 113.

best sense of the word—that of the blue-stocking. In spite of her acquaintance with Court life, and the propriety with which she seems to have discharged all the observances which a family so important as hers owed to the Court, she appears to have been singularly untouched by all the more frivolous and questionable sides of that life. Every evidence seems to show that her interests were genuinely intellectual. Breton, as we have seen, compares her to the Duchess of Urbino. Had she lived in the tenth century, she might have been a second Hroswitha, Abbess of Gandersheim. Were she living to-day, we should certainly find her a prominent figure in the educational and philanthropic projects of our age.

Lady Pembroke's strong intellectual bent, however, was undoubtedly balanced in social life by much personal attractiveness. As (according to all reports) she was very like her brother in appearance, so she must have possessed also that magnetic charm in which lay undoubtedly the foundation of his fame. Add to this the inclination which they both exhibit toward a considerable austerity, or puritanical quality of character, and we can realise how different was Lady Pembroke, after all, from her predecessors and prototypes overseas. If we compare Lady Pembroke with Isabella d'Este, or Marguérite de Navarre, we can easily see that she must have been at once a woman of a finer and a more limited character.

than they. We might, for example, imagine Isabella d'Este in tears of pleasure over a drawing by Leonardo which would leave Lady Pembroke quite unmoved. We may, on the other hand, easily figure a moral crisis of conduct in which Lady Pembroke's course, according to our modern ideals of life, would be the only possible one. But after all perhaps this difference resolves itself simply into one of race.

At any rate, before us stands a fairly distinct sketch of a famous Elizabethan lady. Any attempt at an appreciation of Lady Pembroke must be in many important aspects disappointingly vague. Yet, now and then, her character stands out with startling clearness as that of a conscientious wife and mother, and an effective ruler of her household, as well as a good and great lady of rank, and a distinguished *femme savante*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE TRIUMPHE OF DEATH *translated out of Italian by
the Countesse of Pembroke.*

‘The Triumphe of death,’ a poetical translation of Petrarch’s ‘Trionfo della Morte,’ is found in MS. 538, 43.1, ff. 286–89, in the Library of the Inner Temple, in London. As may be seen from the title, and from the signatures to each chapter, the translation is accredited to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. The folios containing the translation form part of a group of miscellaneous pieces—in poetry and prose—preserved among the Petyt MSS.

William Petyt¹ (1636–1707), archivist and antiquary, was for many years keeper of the records in the Tower of London. After his death, his private collection of manuscripts became the property of the Library of the Inner Temple, where they still remain (Nos. 512–538). No adequate catalogue of these MSS. had been made until the completion of the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, in 1888.²

¹ See article *William Petyt* in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Historical MSS. Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix*, pt. vii. (House of Commons, 1888). *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others*, vol. 62, pp. 227–308.

The group of miscellaneous pieces under discussion (538, 43.1, ff. 284–303 b.) contains, besides Lady Pembroke's translation of Petrarch's 'Trionfo della Morte':

- (i) Three of the Psalms as translated by her: numbers 51, 104, and 137. It also comprises:
- (ii) Epigrams 'out of a pamphlet called Misacmos-merriements,' by Sir John Harington, f. 289 b.
- (iii) Two poems addressed to the Earl of Essex, f. 291.
- (iv) Latin verses addressed to King James, by Alexander Seton, Earl of Dumfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, f. 292 b.
- (v) Analysis of the play called 'Vertumnus' by Dr. Gwynne, acted before the King and Queen at Oxford, f. 293.
- (vi) 'A foolish song upon Tobacco,' by J. F., f. 293 b.
- (vii) 'The speache of a Prince requiring the opinion of somm of his Counsellors, touching the scope of his government ;' with three replies.
- (viii) A long and obscene poem entitled 'The choosing of Valentines,' by Thomas Nash, f. 295 b.
- (ix) 'A dialogue between Constancie and Inconstancie, spoken before the Queene's Majestie at Woodstock,' by Dr. Edes, f. 299.
- (x) 'The Melancholie Knight's complaint in the wood,' by Dr. Edes, f. 300 b.
- (xi) An Oxford libel, by Thomas Bastard of New College, with the names in the margin of the persons satirized, f. 301.
- (xii) Presentation letter to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, from Sir John Harington, sending the Countess of Pembroke's Psalms and his own Epigrams, 29 Dec. 1600, f. 303 b.¹

¹ This list is condensed from pp. 272–3 of the report cited above.

I give this letter in full because of its interesting mention of Lady Pembroke :

To the trulie Noble and right vertuous Ladie,
Lucie, Countess of Bedford.¹

Right Honorable and my most honored good Ladie. I haue sent yow heere the deuine, and truly deuine translation of three of Dauids psalmes, donne by that Excellent Countesse, and in Poesie the mirrois of our Age : whom as yow are neere unto in blood, of lyke degree in Honor, not unlyke in Fauore ; so I suppose, none coms more neere hir, then yourself in those, now rare, and admirable guifts of the mynde, that clothe Nobilitie with vertue.

I haue presumed to fill up the emptie paper with some shallow meditations of myne owne not to conioyne theis with them ; for that were to piece sattin with sack-cloth, or patch leude² upon golde ; much lesse to compare them, that are but a foyle to a dyamond : but as it were to attend them. So as being bothe of meaner matter, and lighter manner, yett maie serue to waite as a wanton page is admitted to beare a torche to a chaste matrone. But as your cleare-sighted judgement shall accept or praise them, I shall hereafter be emboldened to present more of them, and to entytle som of them to your Honorable name, unto which I vowe to rest an euer much deuoted seruant

JHON HARINGTON
29 December 1600.

The whole series, including the closing letter and the signature to this letter, is in the same fine legible hand. This hand is evidently not Sir John Harington's —at any rate, it is quite unlike that of the autograph Harington MSS. in the British Museum.³ It seems,

¹ This lady was a cousin to Sir John Harington, the writer ; and a first cousin of Philip Sidney and Lady Pembroke. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Leade ?

³ 18, 920; 36, 529, f. 46 b; Lansd. 91; Harl. 7002, f. 244; 7003, f. 126; 7011, f. 78.

then, reasonable to suppose that the Inner Temple MS. is a copy of Sir John Harington's copy of the Psalms and 'The Triumph of Death.' In his letter to the Countess of Bedford, he says that he has filled up the paper with 'some shalowe meditations' of his own. Now, as has been seen, the Inner Temple MS., between 'The Triumph of Death' and this letter, which is on the last folio, contains poems by other persons as well as by John Harington himself, all copied in the same hand, including the letter itself. The clearest explanation, then, seems to be that ff. 284-303 b. were copied by some one else. There is no apparent reason, however, for doubting the authenticity of Lady Pembroke's authorship of the 'Triumph of Death,' especially since this translation is accompanied by a fragment of her very well-known metrical version of the Psalms.¹

A bit of further evidence for Lady Pembroke's having made this translation from Petrarch may be found in 'The Silkewormes and their Flies' (1599), a poem dedicated to Lady Pembroke by Dr. Thomas Moffatt (Muffett, or Mouffet).²

Great enuies object, Worth and Wisdoms pride,
Natures delight, Arcadias heire most fitte,
Vouchsafe a while to lay thy taske aside ;
Let Petrarke sleep, giue rest to Sacred Writte :
Or bowe or string will breake, if euer tied,
Some little pawse aideth the quickest witte :

The nature of the translation is interesting, and its poetical merit considerable. The other translators of Petrarch's 'Trionfi'—Henry Parker³ (c. 1565), Mrs.

¹ I have been guided to these conclusions by Miss E. Margaret Thompson, and by Mr. J. E. L. Pickering, Librarian of the Inner Temple.

² See this book, chap. v. p. 180, note 3, for bibliog. reference.

³ *The Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke* (no date). Placed by Brit. Mus. catalogue at c. 1565.

Anna Hume¹ (1644), and H. Boyd² (1807)—all employ the pentameter rimed couplet. Lady Pembroke, however, reproduces the more difficult *terza rima* of the original. Her rendering is, for a metrical translation, astonishingly literal; yet it interests one continuously by its ingenuity of phrasing and its adroit transpositions. The most important adverse criticism to be made upon it is, I think, its occasional obscurity. This obviously arises from the translator's attempt to be as literal as possible,—an attempt which sometimes compels an infelicitous choice of words, and a slight distortion of syntax.

The text of Petrarch employed by Lady Pembroke must have been identical with that of the ordinary modern edition. The critical text established by Carl Appel ('Die Triumphe Francesco Petrarcas,' Halle, 1901) is at many points unlike the version obviously used by Lady Pembroke.

The Triumphe of death translated out of Italian by the Countesse of Pembroke: the first chapter.

That gallant Ladie, gloriouſlie bright,
 The statelie piller once of worthinesse
 And now a little dust, a naked spright,
 Turn'd from hir warres a ioyefull conqueresse:
 Hir warres, where ſhe had foyl'd the mightie foe,
 Whose wylie stratagems the world distresse.
 And foyl'd him, not with ſword, with ſpeare or bowe,
 But with chaste heart, faire viſage, upright thought,
 Wise ſpeache, which did with honor linked goe:
 And loues new plight to ſee ſtrange wonders wrought
 with ſhiuered bowe, chaste arrowes, quenched flame,
 while here ſom ſlaine, and there laye others caught.

¹ *The Triumphs of Loue, Chastitie, Death*, Edinburgh, 1644.

² *The Triumphs of Frauncesco Petrarch*. Facsimile reprint of edition of 1807 by the University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A. 1906.

She and the rest, who in the glorious fame
Of the exploit, hir chosen mates did share,
All in one squadronet close ranged came.
A few, for nature makes true glorie rare,
But eache alone (so eache alone did shine)
Claym'd whole Historians, whole Poetes care
Borne in greene field, a snowy Ermiline
Colored with topacee, sett in fine golde
was this faire companies unfoyled signe.
No earthlie marche, but heauenly did they hould ;
Their speaches holie weare, and happie those,
Who so are borne to be with them enroll'd.
Cleare starr's they send, which did a Sunne unclose,
Who hyding none, yett all did beawtifie
with coronets deckt with violet and rose ;
And as gain'd honor, filled with iollitie
Each gentle heart, so made they merrie cheere,
When loe, an ensigne sad I might descrie,
Black, and in black a woman did appeare,
Furie with hir, such as I scarcelie knowe
If lyke at Phlegra with the Giants were.
Thou Dame, quoth she, that doeth so proudlie goe,
Standing upon thy youth, and beawties state,
And of thy life the limits doest not knowe,
Loe, I am shee, so fierce, importunate,
And deafe, and blinde, entytled oft by yow,
yow, whom with night ere euening I awate.
I, to their end the Greekish nation drewe,
The Troian first, the Romane afterward,
with edge and point of this my blade I slewe.
And no Barbarian my blade could warde,
who stealing on with unexpected wound
Of idle thoughts haue manie thousand marr'd.
And now no lesse to yow-ward am I bound,
While life is dearest ere to cause you moane,
Fortune som bitter with your sweetes compound.
To this thow right or interrest hast none,
Little to me, but onelie to this spoile.
Replide then she, who, in the world was one,

This charge of woe on others will recoyle,
 I know whose safetie on my life depends :
 For me I thank who shall me hence assoile.
 As one whose eyes som noueltie attend
 And what it mark't not first, it spyde at last
 New wonders with it-self, now comprehends
 So far'd the cruell, deepleie ouer-cast
 With doubt awhile, then spake I know them now,
 I now remember when my teethe they past.
 Then with lesse frowning and lesse darkned browe,
 But thow that leadst this goodlie companie,
 Didst neuer yett unto my scepter bowe.
 But on my counsell if thow wilt relye,
 who maie inforce thee ; better is by farre
 From age and ages lothsomnesse to flye.
 More honored by me then others are
 Thow shalt thee finde : and neither feare nor paine
 The passage shall of thy departure barre.
 As lykes that Lord, who in the heau'n doeth raigne,
 And thence this all doeth moderateli guide :
 As others doe I shall thee entretaine.
 So answered she, and I with-all descryde
 Of dead appeare a neuer-numbred summe,
 Pestring the plaine from one to th'other side.
 From India, Spaine, Gattay, Marocco, coome,
 So manie Ages did together falle,
 That worlds were fill'd, and yett they wanted roome.
 There saw I, whom their times did happie calle,
 Popes, Emperors, and Kings, but strangelie growen,
 All naked now, all needie, beggars all.
 Where is that wealth ? where are those honors gonne ?
 Scepters, and crownes, and roabes and purple dye ?
 And costlie myters, sett with pearle and stone ?
 O wretch who doest in mortall things affye ;
 (yett who but doeth) and if in end they dye
 Them-selues beguil'd, they find but right, saie I.
 What means this toyle ? oh blinde, oh more than blinde :
 Yow all returne, to your greate Mother, olde,
 And hardlie leaue your verie names behinde.

Bring me, who doeth your studies well behoulde,
And of your cares not manifestlie vaine
One lett him tell me, when he all hath tolde,
So manie lands to winne, what bootes the paine ?
And on strange lands, tributes to impose,
With hearts still griedie, their owne losse to gaine.
After all theise, wherin yow winning loose
Treasures and territories deere bought with blood ;
Water and bread hath a farre sweeter close.
And golde and gem giues place to glasse and wood :
But leaste I should too-long degression make
To turne to my first taske I think it good.
Now that short-glorious life hir leauue to take
Did neere unto the uttmost instant goe,
And doubtful stepp, at which the world doth quake.
An other number then themselues did shewe
Of Ladies, such as bodies yett did lade,
If death could pitious be, they faine would knowe,
And deepe they did in contemplacion wade
Of that colde end, presented there to view,
which must be once, and must but once be made.
All friends and neighbors were this carefull crue.
But death with ruthlesse hand on golden haire
chosen from-out those amber-tresses drewe,
So cropt the flower, of all this world most faire,
To shewe upon the excellentest thing
Hir supreame force, And for no hate she bare.
Now for my woe, guesse not by't, what is showne,
For I dare scarce once cast a thought there too,
So farre I am of, in words to make it knowne.
Vertue is dead : and dead is beawtie too.
And dead is curtesie, in mournefull plight,
The ladies saide : And nowe, what shall we doe ?
Neuer againe such grace shall blesse our sight
Neuer lyke witt shall we from woman heare,
and voice replete with Angell-lyke delight.
The Soule now prest to leauue that bosome deare.
Hir vertues all uniting now in one,
There where it past did make the heauens cleare.

And of the enemies so hardlie none,
 That once before hir shew'd his face obscure,
 with hir assault, till death had thorough gonne.
 Past plaint and feare when first they could endure
 To hould their eyes on that faire visage bent,
 And that dispaire had made them now secure.
 Not as great fyers violently spent,
 But in themselues consuming, so hir flight
 Tooke that sweete spright, and past in peace content,
 Right lyke unto som lamp of clearest light,
 Little and little wanting nutriture.
 Houlding to end a neuer changing plight
 Pale? no: but whitelie: and more whitelie pure,
 Then snow on wyndless hill, that flaking falles:
 As one, whom labor did to rest allure.
 And when that heauenlie guest those mortall walles
 Had leaft: it nought but sweetelie sleeping was
 In hir faire eyes: what follie dying calleth
 Death faire did seeme to be in hir faire face.

MARIE SIDNEY COUN: OF PEM:

The second Chapter of the Triumph of death.

That night which did the dreadfull happ ensue
 That quite eclipsit, naie rather did replace
 The sunne in skyes, and me bereave of view.
 Did sweetelie sprinkle through the ayrie space
 The Summers frost which with Tithon's bryde
 Cleareth of dreame the dark confused face
 When loe, a Ladie, lyke unto the tyde
 With Orient iewells crown'd, from thousands moe
 Crowned as she: to me, I comming spyde:
 And first hir hand sometime desyred so
 Reaching to me, at once she sygh't and spake:
 Whence endlesse ioyes yett in my heart doe growe.
 And know'st thou hir, who made thee first forsake
 The vulgar path, and ordinarie trade?
 While hir, their marke, they youthfull thoughts did make?

Then doune she sate, and me sitt-doune she made,
 Thought, wisedom, meekenesse in one grace did
 striue
 Unpleasing¹ bank in bay, and beeches shade
 My Goddesse, who me did and doeth reuiue,
 Can I but knowe? (I sobbing answered)
 But art thou dead? Ah speake, or yett aliuie?
 Aliue am I: And thow as yett art dead,
 And as thow art shalt soe continue still
 Till by thy ending hower, thow hence be led.
 Short is our time to liue, and long our will:
 Then lett with heede, thy deedes, and speaches goe
 Ere that approaching terme his course fullfill.
 Quoth I when this our light to end doth growe,
 Which we calle life (for thow by prooфе hast tryde)
 Is it such Payne to dye? That, make me knowe.
 While thow, (quoth she) the vulgar make thy guide,
 And on their iudgements (all obscurelie blynde)
 Doest yett relye: no blisse can thee betyde,
 Of lothesom prison to eache gentle mynde
 Death is the end: And onelie who employe
 Their cares on mudd, therin displeasure finde.
 Euen this my death, which yealds thee such annoye
 Would make in thee farre greater gladnesse ryse
 Couldst thou but taste least portion of my ioye.
 So spake she with deuoutlie-fixed eyes
 Upon the Heauens: then did in silence foulde
 Those rosie lips, attending there replyes:
 Torments, inuented by the Tyrranes olde:
 Diseases, which each parte torment and tosse
 Causes that death we most bitter houlde,
 I not denye (quoth she) but that the crosse
 Preceeding death, extreemelie martireth
 And more the feare of that eternall losse
 But when the panting soule in God takes breath;
 And wearie heart affecteth heauenlie rest,
 An unrepented syghe, not els, is death.

¹ Sic. for *On pleasing?*

With bodie, but with spirit readie prest,
Now at the furthest of my liuing wayes ;
There sadlie uttered sounds my eare possest.
Oh happless he ; who counting times and dayes
Thinks each a thousand yeares, and liues in vayne
No more to meete hir while on earth he stayes.
And on the water now, now on the Maine
Onelie on hir doeth think, doeth speake, doeth write.
And in all times one manner still retaine.
Heere-with I thither cast my failing-sight,
And so one espyde, presented to my view,
Who oft did thee restraining, me encyte.
Well, I hir face, and well hir voice I knewe.
Which often did my heart reconsolate :
Now wiselie graue, then beautifulie true.
And sure when I was in my fairest state,
My yeares most greene, myself to thee most deare,
Whence manie much did think, and much debate
That life's best ioye was all most bitter cheere,
Compared to that death, most myldelie sweete,
Which comst to men, but coms not euerie-where.
For I, that iournie past with gladder feete,
Then he from hard exile, that homeward goes.
(But onelie ruth of thee) without regreete.
For that faith's sake, time once enough did shewe,
Yett now to thee more mainfestlie plaine,
In face of him, who all doeth see and knowe,
Saie Ladie, did you euer entretaine
Motion or thought more louinglie to me
(Not louing honor's-height) my tedious paine ?
For those sweete wraths, those sweete disdaines in yow
In those sweete peaces written in your eye
Diuerslie manie yeares my fanzies drewe.
Scarce had I spoken but in lightning wise
Beaming I sawe that gentle smile appeare,
Sometimes the sunne of my woe-darkned skyes.
Then sighing thus she answered : Neuer were
Our hearts but one, nor neuer two shall be :
Onelie thy flame I tempred with my cheere :

This onelie way could saue both thee and me :
 Our tender fame did this supporte require,
 The mother hath a rodd, yett kinde is she.

How oft saide this my thoughts : In loue, naie fire.
 Is he : Now to prouide must I beginne,
 And ill prouiders are feare and desire.

Tho¹ sawe'st what was without, not what within.
 And as the brake the wanton steede doeth tame,
 So this did thee from thy disorders winne.

A thousand times wrath in my face did flame.
 My heart meane-while with loue did inlie burne.
 But neuer will, my reason ouercame.

For, if woe-vanquisht once, I sawe thee mourne,
 Thy life, or honor, ioyntlie to preserue
 Myne eyes to thee sweetelie did I turne.

But if thy passion did from reason swarue,
 Feare in my words, and sorrowe in my face
 Did then to thee for salutation serue.

Theis artes I us'd with thee : thow ran'st this race
 With kinde acceptance : now sharp disdaine
 Thow know'st, and hast it sung in manie a place.

Somtimes thine eyes pregnant with tearie rayne
 I sawe, and at the sight : Behould he dyes :
 But if I help, saide I, the signes are plaine.

Vertue for ayde, did then with loue aduise :
 If spurr'd by, thow took'st som running toye,
 So soft a bitt (quoth I) will not suffice.

Thus glad, and sad, in pleasure, and annoye :
 What red, cold, pale : thus farre I haue thee
 brought

Wearie but safe to my no little ioye.

Then I with teares, and trembling : what it sought
 My faith hath found, whose more then equall neede
 Were this : if this, for truth could passe my thought.

Of little faith (quoth she) should this proceede :
 If false it were, or if unknowne from me :
 The flames withall seem'd in hir face to breed.

¹ Sic. (Thow ?)

If lyking in myne eyes the world did see
 I saie not, now, of this, right faine I am,
 Those chaines that tyde my heart well lyked me.
 And well me lykes (if true it be) my flame,
 Which farre and neere by thee related goes,
 Nor in thy loue could ought but measure blame.
 That onelie fail'd: and while in acted woes
 Thow needs wouldest shewe, what I could not but see
 Thow didst thy heart to all the world disclose.
 Hence sprang my zeale, which yett distempreth thee,
 Our concorde such in euerie thing beside,
 As when united loue and vertue be.
 In equale flames our louing hearts were tryde,
 At leaste when once thy loue had notice gott,
 But one to shewe, the other sought to hyde:
 Thow didst for mercie calle with wearie throte
 In feare and shame, I did in silence goe
 So much desire became of little note.
 But not the lesse becoms concealed woe,
 Nor greater growes it uttered, then before,
 Through fiction, Truth will neither ebbe nor flowe.
 But clear'd I not the darkest mists of yore?
 When I thy words alone did entretaine
 Singing for thee? my loue dares speake no more.
 With thee my heart, to me I did restraine
 Myne eyes; and thow thy share canst hardlie brooke
 Leesing by me the lesse, the more to gayne.
 Not thinking if a thousand times I tooke
 Myne eyes from thee; I manie thousands cast
 Myne eyes on thee; and still with pittyng looke.
 Whose shine no cloud had euer ouer-cast:
 Had I not fear'd in thee those coles to fyres
 I thought would burne too dangerouslie fast.
 But to content thee more, ere I retyre
 For end of this, I somthing wilt thee tell,
 Perchance agreeable to thy desire:
 In all things fullie blest, and pleased well,
 Onelie in this I did my-self displease;
 Borne in too-base a towne for me to dwell:

And much I grieued, that for thy greater ease,
At leaste, it stood not neere thy flowrie nest,
Els farre-enough, from whence I did thee please,
So might the heart on which I onelie rest
Not knowing me, haue fitt it-self elswhere,
And I lesse name, lesse notice haue possest,
Oh no (quoth I) for me, the heauens third spheare
To so high loue aduanc't by speciall grace,
Changelesse to me though chang'd thy dwelling were.
Be as it will, yett my great Honor was.
And is as yett (she saide) but thy delight
Makes thee not mark how fast the howers doe passe.
Shee from hir golden bed aurora bright
To mortall eyes returning sunne and daye
Breast-high aboue the Ocean bare to sight.
Shee to my sorrowe, calles me hence awaie,
Therfore thy words in times short limits bind'e,
And saie in brief, if more thow haue to saie.
Ladie, (quoth I) your words most sweetlie kinde
Haue easie made what euer erst I bare,
But what is left of yow to liue behinde.
Therfore to knowe this, my onelie care,
If sloe or swift shall com our meeting-daye.
Shee parting saide, As my coniectures are,
Thow without me long time on earth shalt staie.

MARIE SYDNEY COUNTESSE OF PEMBROKE.

APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON 'THE COUNTESSE OF PENBROOK'S PASSION'

IN Grosart's edition of the 'Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton,'¹ the poem called 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion' is discussed in relation to its history and its authorship.² As is well known to all students of Breton, this poem, now with apparent certainty accredited to him, was for a long time attributed to the Countess of Pembroke. That such a misapprehension should arise is not unnatural when one considers the ambiguity of the title, and the comparative carelessness of early nineteenth-century scholars. Nevertheless, the scholarship relating to this poem presents some entertaining mistakes and oversights.

Dr. Grosart's 'Note,' referred to above, runs as follows :

The 'Countesse of Penbrook's Passion' was first printed by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps in the following volume : 'A Brief Description of the Ancient and Modern Manuscripts preserved in the Public Library, Plymouth . . . London, 1853.' The poem is herein headed : 'An Unpublished Poem by Nicholas Breton. From the Original Manuscript.' Probably this MS. had at one time been in the possession of George Steevens, for in his list of the Writings of Breton, in

¹ Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1879, 2 vols.

² Vol. 1, C. p. 2, note.

his copy of 'The Works of a young Wyt trust up' (Steevens' Sale Catalogue, 997, S.N.) [Bibliotheca Steevensiana, London, 1800] the poem is assigned by him to Breton. Notwithstanding all this, the Poem was published in 1862 (London, John Wilson, Publisher: N. G. B., Editor) as 'A Poem on Our Saviour's Passion. By Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. From an unpublished MS. in the British Museum. With a Preface by the Editor.' I regret to need to say that corrections of readings in the Sloane MS. which N.G.B. prints from, that are found only in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' MS. as printed, betray his knowledge and use of the prior publication, though there is a studious avoidance of acknowledgment of either. *The poem, as by the illustrious sister of Sidney, has received high praise from Dr. George MacDonald in his 'Antiphon,' as it was earlier quoted from by Walpole in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' and by Lodge, in his 'Portraits of Illustrious Personages.'* The title given by N. G. B. of 'Our Saviour's Passion' is without authority.¹ The Poem is entitled 'The Countesse of Penbrooke's Passion' exactly as Breton named another of his productions 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Love' . . . and as Sidney named his 'Arcadia' after her.

Miss Alice Luce, in her dissertation, 'The Countess of Pembroke's Antonie' (Weimar, 1897, p. 8, note 2), repeats Dr. Grosart's explanation. In accrediting 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion' to Breton, whose patroness was Lady Pembroke, she says: '(This poem was) First printed by Halliwell-Phillipps in a volume: "A Brief Description of the Ancient and Modern MSS. preserved in the Public Library, Plymouth. London, 1853." Later, by a curious mistake, it was attributed to Lady Pembroke's Authorship,² and highly praised by Dr. George MacDonald in his "Antiphon."

By Dr. Grosart, then, this error of long standing was rectified. It is clear, however, that the attribution of the poem to Lady Pembroke is older than Dr. Grosart says

¹ The italics are mine.

² The italics are mine.

it is, and that the mistake is due to Lodge and to one of Walpole's editors, rather than to R. G. B.¹ in John Wilson's edition of 1862.

There are, apparently, two MS. sources for this poem. The first, and according to Grosart the more authoritative, is in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 1303. 'R. G. B.', the editor of John Wilson's edition, in 1862, thus describes it :

On the fly-leaf of the Sloane MS. 1303, is to be found this inscription : '*Sum liber Johannis Botterelli, Anno Domini 1600, Novembris 27.*' This volume contains, among other poems written in the same hand, the present work, under the title of 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion.'²

The other MS. is the one used by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. In his volume of MSS. from the Plymouth Library, 1853, the poem has the following title :

'An Unpublished Poem
by
NICHOLAS BRETON,
From the Original Manuscript.'

Dr. Grosart considers that 'The Halliwell-Phillipps MS. is self-evidently a revised and improved text as compared with the Sloane MS. ; but nevertheless its mistakes make it manifest that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is in error in regarding it as an autograph.'³

Dr. Grosart, in 1879, and Miss Luce, in 1897, both state that 'The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion' was never published until 1853, by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. The poem, in MS., was well known to students, however, for Thomas Park, who, in 1806, edited Horace Walpole's 'Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England,' and Edmund Lodge, in his 'Portraits of the Illustrious

¹ Incorrectly cited by Dr. Grosart as 'N. G. B.'

² Preface, p. 4 of J. Wilson's ed. ; London, 1862.

³ Note cited above.

Personages of Great Britain' (London, 1825), were conversant with the Sloane MS. 1303. The emergence of Lady Pembroke as the supposed author of the 'Passion' is traceable as follows :

Horace Walpole's notice of Lady Pembroke in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' edition of 1759¹ (vol. 2, p. 187), is as follows :

Mary, Countess of Pembroke, the celebrated sister of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote 'Poems and translations in verse of several psalms,' said to be preserved in the library at Wilton.²

'A discourse of life and death, written in French by Philip Mornay, done into English by the Countess of Pembroke, dated May 13, 1590, at Wilton. Printed at London for H. Ponsonby, 1600. 12mo.'

'The Tragedie of Antonie, done into English by the Countess of Pembroke. London, 1595. 12mo.'

To the edition of Walpole which appeared in 1798, an anonymous editor has made additions confessed on the title-page, especially to the 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors' (vol. 1, pp. 483-4). I have italicised the additions :

'Mary, Countess of Pembroke, the celebrated sister of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote

'Poems and translations in verse of several psalms, said to be preserved in the library at Wilton. *There are a few printed with Francis Davison's poems.*'

'A discourse of life and death, etc.' (as in 1759 ed.).

'The tragedie of Antonie, etc.' (as in 1759 ed.).

'*Three of her letters are printed in Sir Toby Matthew's collection.*'

¹ The *editio princeps* of *Royal and Noble Authors* (Strawberry Hill, 1758) contains no statement about Lady Pembroke's poetry.

² Walpole makes this statement on the authority of George Ballard. *Memoirs of British Ladies*, London, 1752.

The 1806 edition of Walpole's ' Catalogue,' 'enlarged and continued to the present time by Thomas Park,' contains, in a much-extended general discussion of her work, this additional sentence, which probably started the mistake :¹

'A long poem in six-line stanzas, entitled "The Countesse of Penbrooke's Passion" occurs among the Sloanian MSS., no. 1303.' Note especially that Thomas Park does not, in so many words, attribute the poem to Lady Pembroke.

Edmund Lodge, however, in his ' Portraits of Illustrious Personages,' 1825,² commits himself irrevocably to the assertion. He writes :

Her (Lady Pembroke's) longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion, consisting of no less than 110 stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection,

and so on, for a page of rather misguided criticism.

'R. G. B.,' in his preface to the edition of 1862,³ refers to Walpole and Lodge as follows :

Her (Lady Pembroke's) longest work is the poem we now submit to the perusal of the public. It is on the sublime subject of Our Saviour's Passion. Horace Walpole, in his ' Royal and Noble Authors,' enumerating her various publications, merely mentions it as one of her works. Lodge, in his ' Portraits,' gives extracts from the poem, but does not speak of it in very flattering terms.

Dr. Grosart, then, does not state the situation with complete accuracy. 'R. G. B.' got his information (such as it was) very honestly from Walpole and Lodge, even

¹ Vol. 2, p. 206.

² Vol. 4, art. *Mary Sidney*, p. 5.

³ P. 4, *op. cit.*

to the title 'Our Saviour's Passion.' We have seen, also, that none of the editions of Walpole's 'Catalogue' really attribute the poem to Lady Pembroke, nor do they 'quote from' it. Lodge alone quotes four stanzas. Lodge is, evidently, the definite source of the mistake; and the supposition that Lady Pembroke wrote Breton's poem is clearly older than Dr. Grosart and Miss Luce take it to be.¹

¹ *The Countess of Pembroke's Passion* is attributed to Lady Pembroke in so beautiful and modern a work as *Wilton House Pictures* (London, 1907), by Capt. Nevile R. Wilkinson.

George Ballard, in his *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, 1752, says that many people supposed Abraham Fraunce's poems, *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch* and *The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuel*, to have been written by the Countess herself.

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